MAY 20 2008

Central BAPTIST
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/architecturalset0000gwoa

THE ARCHITECTURAL SETTING OF ANGLICAN WORSHIP

THE ARCHITECTURAL SETTING OF ANGLICAN WORSHIP

An Inquiry into the arrangements for Public Worship in the Church of England from the Reformation to the present day

by

G. W. O. ADDLESHAW

M.A., B.D., F.S.A.

Canon Residentiary of York

and

FREDERICK ETCHELLS

Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects

FABER AND FABER LIMITED

24 Russell Square

London

LIBRARY
CENTRAL BAPTIST SEMINARY
KANSAS CITY 2, KANSAS

First published in mcmxlviii
by Faber and Faber Limited
24 Russell Square London W.C.1
Second impression mcml
Third impression mcmlvi
Printed in Great Britain by
Bradford and Dickens London W.C.1
All rights reserved

726.583
A227

Tis onely some base niggard Heresie
To think Religion loves deformity.
Glory did never yet make God the lesse,
Neither can beauty defile holinesse.
Whats more magnificent then Heaven? yet where
Is there more love and piety then there.

To have our Halls and Galleries outshine
Altars in beauty, is to deck our swine
With Orient Pearl, whilst the deserving Quire
Of God and Angels wallow in the mire:
Our decent Copes onely distinction keep
That you may know the Shepheard from the sheep,
As gaudy letters in the Rubrick shew
How you may holi-dayes from lay-dayes know:
Remember Aarons *Robes and you will say*
Ladies at Masques are not so rich as they.
Then are th' Priests words like thunderclaps when he
Is lightning like rayed round with Majesty.

From a poem, author unknown, entitled 'A Poem, In defence of the decent Ornaments of Christ-Church Oxon, *occasioned by a* Banbury *brother, who called them Idolatries', in* Parnassus Biceps, *1656 (ed. by G. Thorn-Drury, London, 1928)*

37504

CONTENTS

I. CHURCH INTERIORS AND THE REFORMATION

1. Pre-Reformation Church Interiors *page* 15
2. The Experiments of the Edwardian Reformers 22
3. The Elizabethan Settlement 30

II. THE CHANCEL SCREEN

1. The Post-Reformation Use of the Chancel Screen 37
2. The Screen Principle in Auditory Churches 52

III. THE NAVE

1. The Font 64
2. The Reading Pew and Pulpit 68
3. The Churching Pew 84
4. The Pews 86
5. The Position of the Singers 98
6. The Decoration of the Nave 101

IV. THE ALTAR AND THE CHANCEL, 1559-1660

1. The Pre-Laudian Altar 108
2. The Disadvantages of the Pre-Laudian Altar 117
3. The Laudian Reformation 120
4. The Literature of the Laudian Reformation 133
5. The Principles of the Laudian School 136
6. The Laudian Altar 139

V. THE ALTAR AND THE CHANCEL, 1660–1841

1. The Position of the Altar *page* 148
2. The Setting of the Altar 155
3. The Altar and its Furniture 165

VI. THE ALTAR AND THE PEOPLE

1. The Communicants and the Altar 174
2. Various Eighteenth-century Experiments 179
3. The Ministerial Altar 200

VII. THE VICTORIAN AGE

1. The Period of Self-consciousness 203
2. The Surpliced Choir 209
3. The Cathedral Service 219

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

1. The Present Opportunity 223
2. Practical Considerations 226
3. The Nave Altar 237
4. Some Present-day Needs 242

APPENDIX I

Martin Bucer on the Position of the Minister 245

APPENDIX II

The Auditory Church 247

APPENDIX III

Reading the Liturgy 251

APPENDIX IV

The Ministerial Altar 254

Bibliography 255

Churches mentioned in the text which still to a large extent retain their Pre-Victorian arrangements (with Bibliography) 266

Index 277

LIST OF PLANS

1. Tarazona Cathedral, Spain *page* 20
2. St. Antholin, Medina del Campo, Spain 21
3. Burneston, North Riding, Yorkshire 44
4. Hexton, Hertfordshire 46
5. Brougham, St. Ninian's, Westmorland 47
6. Foremark, Derbyshire 48
7. Ingestre, Staffordshire 49
8. All Saints', Derby 50
9. Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire 53
10. St. James's, Piccadilly, London 55
11. St. Mary-at-Hill, London 57
12. Ballymakenny, Co. Louth, Ireland 59
13. King's Norton, Leicestershire 60
14. Chislehampton or Chiselhampton, Oxfordshire 61
15. Harefield, Middlesex 75
16. Kedington, Suffolk 77
17. Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire 79
18. Whitby, Yorkshire 81
19. Romaldkirk, Yorkshire 85
20. St. Katharine's Hospital, London 87
21. Elsdon, Northumberland 89
22. St. Nicholas's, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland 91
23. Witherslack, Westmorland 92
24. Sedgefield, Co. Durham 94
25. Barnoldswick, Yorkshire 95
26. St. Clodock, Herefordshire 102
27. Cartmel Fell, Lancashire 103
28. Parracombe, Devonshire 105

29. Langley Chapel, Shropshire *page* 111
30. Hailes, Gloucestershire 112
31. St. John's, Leeds, Yorkshire 114
32. Lyddington, Rutland 129
33. Abbey Dore, Herefordshire 131
34. Bolam, Northumberland 149
35. Gibside Chapel, Winlaton, Co. Durham 152
36. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London 163
37. Beauchief Abbey, Derbyshire 181
38. St. Philip's, Regent Street, London 182
39. St. Andrew's, Dublin, Ireland 184
40. All Saints', Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland 185
41. St. George's, Dublin, Ireland 187
42. Dale, Derbyshire 188
43. Timogue, Co. Leix, Ireland 190
44. Halston Chapel, Whittington, Shropshire 192
45. Shobdon, Herefordshire 193
46. Ravenstonedale, Westmorland 194
47. Brougham, St. Wilfrid's, Westmorland 195
48. Teigh, Rutland 196
49. Downpatrick Cathedral, Co. Down, Ireland 198
50. Killala Cathedral, Co. Mayo, Ireland 199
51. Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, Ireland 201
52. Leeds Parish Church, Yorkshire 212
53. A typical Victorian Church 216
54. San Saturnino, Pamplona, Spain 230
55. Zwiefalten, Wurtemberg, Germany 231
56. A Cruciform Medieval Church rearranged 240
57. A Late Medieval Aisled Church rearranged 241

The plans have been drawn from originals obtained from various sources; some are taken from old drawings or prints, and a number have been specially measured for this book. No precise accuracy is claimed, but they are believed to be sufficiently correct for the present purpose. Approximate scales have been included where possible. The letters P, R, and C refer throughout to Pulpit, Reading Desk or Pew, and Clerk's Seat respectively.

LIST OF PLATES

I. The Communion Service *facing page* 32
II. Interior of St. Peter's, Cornhill 48
III. Interior of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields 64
IV. The Speaker in his Pew 80
V. Interior of High Wycombe Church, Bucks. 96
VI. The Lord's Supper 112
VII. The Wedding Service 128
VIII. The Chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford 144
IX. The High Altar of St. Paul's Cathedral 160
X. The High Altar of Winchester Cathedral 176
XI. The High Altar of the Dominican Church, Salamanca 192
XII. The Altars in the Choir and Lady Chapel of Salisbury Cathedral 208

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

So many people, both among the Clergy and others, have helped us in writing this book, that it is impossible to mention them all by name. We hope, however, that they will accept this general acknowledgement as a sign of our gratitude. But we would particularly like to thank Mr. J. C. Dickinson for his help in reading the proofs; Miss M. R. Addleshaw, the Rev. E. G. Benson, the Rev. J. Breay, the Rev. J. W. A. Howe, the Rev. E. Parker, and the Rev. S. S. Davies for much help in connection with the measuring and making of the plans, and especially the Rev. A. W. Fletcher for the original plan of Foremark Church, Sir C. Peers for that of Chislehampton, Mr. J. E. M. Macgregor for that of Parracombe, and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings for that of Barnoldswick. We also wish to thank particularly the Rev. E. G. Benson and the Rev. J. Breay again for much information regarding post-Reformation liturgical practices; Mr. J. Betjeman for his help in connection with the Dublin churches which we have mentioned; the Rev. Canon C. Smyth for drawing our attention to the engraving reproduced as Plate X; Mr. D. Sherborn for the photographs of engravings from which Plates II and III have been made; the Ven. C. P. S. Clarke for the loan of the engraving from which Plate V has been made; and the Rev. D. D. Haw for his help in connection with the index.

Chapter I

CHURCH INTERIORS AND THE REFORMATION

1. Pre-Reformation Church Interiors

When the Church of England in 1559 finally decided to use a vernacular liturgy at its public services, the authorities in Church and State were faced with a serious practical problem. How were the existing churches to be made suitable for that corporate liturgical worship presupposed by the Book of Common Prayer? It is not enough for the laity to be merely present in church; the Prayer Book intends that they should enter into the liturgy, making its moods their own, and following intelligently the action of the rite. A congregation finds this difficult unless it can hear what the minister says and can see what is done at the altar. But the interior arrangements of an English medieval parish church were such that the worshipper could see or hear relatively little of the service; the worship, however resplendent and mysterious, lacked that corporateness which all sections in the Church of England believe to be an essential part of liturgy.

The plan of an English medieval parish church is the result of an attempt to combine into one whole a series of compartments: the nave, the aisles, the chantry chapels with their parclose screens, the transepts, and the long chancels and their aisles separated from the nave by a screen, rood-loft and tympanum. An English medieval church is a mysterious succession of self-contained rooms, seem-

ingly stretching away into infinity; there is a gradual unveiling of its character till at last the high altar is reached at the east end.[1]

The most typical feature of an English medieval church is the long chancel, often half or two-thirds the length of the nave. The size of these long chancels is due not only to ceremonial needs; they were also built to provide a place where the parochial clergy and those attached to the chantry altars of a church could say their offices together. It is important to remember that the long chancels of medieval England were built to house the clergy; their grandeur and magnificence were an outward sign of the importance of the clergy in the medieval polity. They were only occasionally used by the laity, and they were not intended to provide a place for a choir of lay singers. At times a few singers may have occupied some of the stalls or stood in front of them; but usually the singers and the organ were accommodated in the rood-loft. The rood-screen, painted and gilded, marked the separation of the chancel, the place of the clergy, from the nave where the laity usually worshipped. This separation was further enhanced by the tympanum, made of wood or lath and plaster, which filled the chancel arch above the rood-loft, and on which the Last Judgement was painted forming a background to the great rood.[2]

The long chancel found its complete development in the aisled rectangular plan which the larger parish churches tended to assume after the middle of the fourteenth century in conscious imitation of such cathedrals as York and Lincoln. Thirteenth-century bishops in building a cathedral like York or Lincoln were anxious to mark the distinctiveness and dignity of the clerical order, and in particular, that of the secular canons who staffed their cathedrals. A convenient plan lay to hand for this purpose in the churches belonging to monastic bodies.[3] Originally the division in a church had been twofold; a sanctuary in which the altar was placed and a nave where the faithful could assemble. Choirs, whether of monastic or secular clergy, occupied the eastern part of the nave, as in Westminster

[1] E. S. Prior, *A History of Gothic Art in England* (1900), p. 81; A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Ground Plan of the English Parish Church* (1911), p. 35.

[2] A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Historical Growth of the English Parish Church* (1911), p. 78; Aymer Vallance, *English Church Screens* (1936), p. 68.

[3] Prior, op. cit., pp. 104–5; A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Ground Plan of the English Parish Church*, pp. 124–6.

Abbey to-day.[1] Such was the position of the choir in English cathedrals until a new fashion was created by the rebuilding at Canterbury under St. Anselm. The long eastern arm, typical of an English medieval church, now appears for the first time; and its length is due to the fact that the monastic choir has been moved out of the nave into the eastern arm between the crossing and the high altar. 'The glorious choir of Conrad' as it was called, begun by Ernulf in 1093 and completed in 1130, materially altered the structural divisions of an English cathedral; no longer is it made up of sanctuary and nave, but of sanctuary, choir and nave; the division between choir and sanctuary being marked by an eastern transept. As George Gilbert Scott said: 'The constructional division which had once severed monks and people alike from the altar area, now severed the people from the monks; while no structural division now intervened between the choir of the monks and the sanctuary itself. The monks had, in fact, come within the sanctuary, and the laity alone remained without in the nave'; and he went on to point out that this expansion of the eastern arm of our churches in the Middle Ages constituted the great innovation made by medieval ecclesiology.[2] The idea of a choir cut off from the nave for the exclusive use of the clergy was copied by thirteenth- and fourteenth-century bishops in building cathedrals for secular canons. Their cathedrals became models for parish churches; and it thus came about that a type of church, planned to separate first monastic communities, and then secular canons, from the laity, eventually succeeded in determining the arrangement of our parish churches, and separating the clergy from their people in the liturgy.

The closing-up of the chancel arch by the rood-screen and tympanum, the parclose screens round the chantry altar, meant what Scott described as 'withdrawing the altars into a certain amount of retirement.'[3] To-day some people delight in the unbroken vistas to be found in many of our cathedrals and parish churches, and the sight of a high altar from the back of a long church. But what Aymer Vallance called the 'incontinent lech for vistas'[4] was something alien to the medieval mind; and the vistas enjoyed to-day in our churches are due to the work of restorers within the last hun-

[1] G. G. Scott (junior), *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture* (1881), pp. 152–4.
[2] Ibid., pp. 132–3. [3] Ibid., p. 50. [4] *English Church Screens*, p. 36.

dred years. In the Middle Ages, the object most visible to the laity was not the high altar but the great rood, flanked by Our Lady and St. John. The laity must have found it hard to follow effectively the action of the Mass at the high altar, even with open tracery and perforations in the rood-screen; all they could properly see was the Elevation. When Masses were said at altars in the nave, the people were separated from them by parclose screens. The simpler church of the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the altar in a small apsidal or rectangular chancel comparatively close to the people, was more suited in its plan to congregational liturgical worship than the typical parish church of the later Middle Ages.

The typical medieval plan was largely intended to meet the devotional needs of the clergy and to provide sufficient room for a number of chantry altars. The breaking-up of much of the available space in the body of the church by numerous screens made it difficult for a really large number of people to worship together; even in the largest churches the aisles were partly filled with small screened-off spaces each with its altar.[1] The Middle Ages preferred to meet the needs of the laity in a large town by a multitude of small churches rather than a few large ones. As a result the City of London, and such cities as York, Bristol, Exeter, and Norwich, have numbers of small churches which reformers call redundant and are always anxious to close. If there was a cathedral the townsfolk were not always encouraged to use it; and from some monastic churches they were excluded altogether. The size of a cathedral nave was dictated by love of architectural magnificence and the need of providing pathways for the Sunday procession, at least as much as by a desire to find room for a large congregation of laity.[2]

In medieval England the friars seem to have been unique in their realization of the importance of buildings designed to accommodate large numbers of people with the maximum of light and spaciousness. Their most successful achievement was the great nave of the Franciscan church in London in Newgate Street; but it was built for

[1] Hamilton Thompson, *The Historical Growth of the English Parish Church*, p. 110; cf. D. H. S. Cranage, *The Churches of Shropshire* (1901), pp. 131–3, for a description of how in a large church like Ludlow chantries filled the aisles which were indeed primarily built for that purpose.

[2] *Trans. Brist. and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, xxi, p. 107; Hamilton Thompson, *The Cathedral Churches of England* (1928), pp. 103–6; Jocelyn Perkins, *Westminster Abbey* (1938), i. pp. 4–5.

preaching purposes.[1] The friars do not seem to have visualized the possibility of buildings planned to enable large numbers of people to participate actively in the liturgy.

Continental churches too were broken up by masses of screen work, though most of it was removed by the baroque architects; and in France what they left was largely destroyed in the Revolution.[2] It would seem, in fact, that medieval buildings planned to accommodate large numbers of people for liturgical worship in sight of the high altar are rare in the extreme. An attempt was made by the famous school of church builders in Catalonia in the fourteenth century, beginning with the Majorcan architect, Jayme Fabre. The great creations of this school, the Church of Santa Maria del Pino in Barcelona, Gerona Cathedral, the Collegiata at Manresa, were built to enable vast congregations to see the high altar; the nave of each is an aisleless hall and is capable of holding between two and three thousand people. The Catalan architects succeeded in making this possible through the great width of their churches; the nave of Gerona Cathedral measures seventy-three feet across compared with the fifty-two feet of York Minster, the widest nave in England.[3]

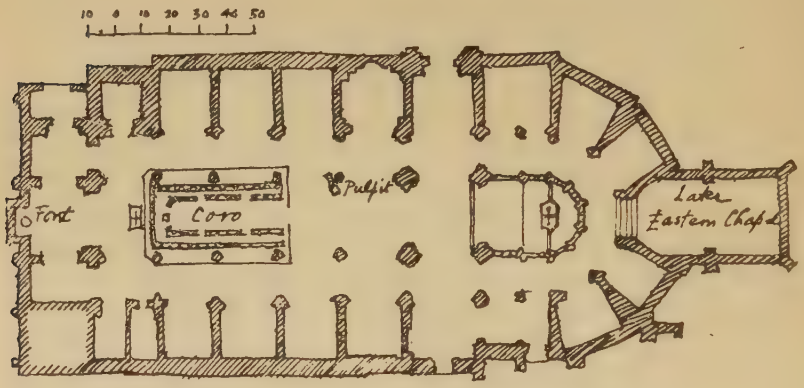
Elsewhere in Spain the peculiar position occupied by the choir stalls in cathedrals and collegiate churches brought the congregation closer to the high altar than was usual in the Middle Ages. The Spanish builders in planning their churches retained the short eastern apse which served exclusively as a sanctuary. The choir stalls, known as the *coro*, are placed at the eastern end of the nave. Between the sanctuary, separated from the nave by a metal screen, and the choir stalls space is made available to the ordinary worshipper who is thus able to kneel in close proximity to the high altar. The *coro* itself is enclosed on the north, west, and south sides; on its east side is a metal screen often connected with the screen before the

[1] A. R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England* (Manchester, 1937), pp. 12, 16, 23–28.

[2] Cf. A. W. Pugin, *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood-lofts* (1851), pp. 81–97, for an amusing but highly imaginary account of the destruction of screens in France both before and during the Revolution. The Lutheran churches of north Germany preserved their medieval screen work more than any other buildings on the Continent; and a good account of it will be found in T. Francis Bumpus, *Holiday Rambles Among the Cathedrals and Churches of North Germany* (1903), pp. 89–100.

[3] G. E. Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain* (1869), pp. 297, 310, 323, 429.

high altar by a passage way of low iron rails, which enables the clergy to pass to and fro between the sanctuary and *coro* without being disturbed by the worshippers kneeling in between. In some cases, as at Tudela and Tarazona (Plan 1), the *coro* is situated near the west end of the nave, thus bringing a large proportion of the whole cathedral into direct relation with the altar.[1]



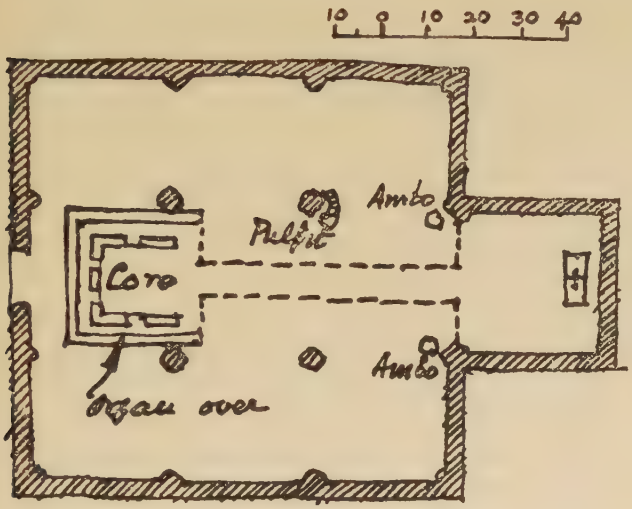
Plan 1

TARAZONA CATHEDRAL, Spain. *Begun in 1235 but much altered subsequently during the Middle Ages. It is a good example of the Spanish cathedral arrangement with the* coro *or ritual choir placed well to the west of the* capilla mayor *or sanctuary; in this case there is an interval of three bays, a distance of some sixty-five feet. The bishop's stall is in the centre of the west end of the* coro, *and there is a short 'ante-chapel' of two bays, with an altar and font.*

Similar arrangements are to be found in parish churches. In the church of San Pedro el Viejo at Huesca and in that of San Antholin at Medina del Campo (Plan 2) the *coro* is on the floor of the nave at the west end. In the latter church the organ is placed above the south side of the *coro*; and there are two bays between the *coro* and the sanctuary which the laity can occupy. Frequently the *coro* is found in a western gallery. The Church of San Esteban at Burgos

[1] G. E. Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, 1869, pp. 16–18, 382, 396, 430–1.

has such a gallery arranged as a choir with returned stalls along the west wall and a large lectern in the middle for the office books; two ambos project into the church from the north and south corners of the gallery. In the Church of San Saturnino at Pamplona (Plan 54) with its magnificent broad span, Street calculated that there was enough space on the floor of the nave to accommodate six hundred people.[1]



Plan 2

St. Antholin, Medina del Campo, Spain. *Built 1503. This late Gothic building is a good example of a Spanish church with the* coro *at the west end on the ground floor, with a distance of some fifty-five feet between it and the sanctuary or* capilla mayor. *The building is in some ways curiously reminiscent of Wren's church at Ingestre, Plan No. 7, the nave with its aisles being in both cases an almost perfect square. The fittings of the* coro *are of a Renaissance character and on the south side of this is the organ which Street describes as 'bristling with projecting trumpet-pipes, and altogether very well designed'. Note the low screens connecting the* coro *with the sanctuary. Churches of this type would seem to suggest a solution for some of our problems.*

[1] Ibid., pp. 49, 161, 256–7, 366, 406–7.

Attention has been called to the Spanish method of arranging churches because of its suitability to the requirements of a large congregation. In these churches, far more than in any other medieval buildings, can inspiration be found for the building of great churches for congregational liturgical worship. They are also interesting because their arrangements bear a certain similarity to those which the Church in England and Ireland sometimes adopted at the end of the eighteenth century.

2. *The Experiments of the Edwardian Reformers*

In 1559 the Elizabethan authorities found themselves faced with the possession of buildings which, however beautiful they may have been, were to a considerable extent unsuited to the liturgical ideas of the Prayer Book. The Prayer Book conceives of each service in the liturgy as the work of the whole body of the faithful; medieval churches with their screens separating clergy and laity, and the laity from the altar, tended to make the faithful largely onlookers and the liturgy the peculiar and exclusive work of the clergy. It was clearly impossible to pull down the churches and build others more suitable, and the authorities instead took the course of rearranging our churches for the congregational liturgical worship of the Prayer Book; but before the measures which they took can be understood it is necessary to take into account the thinking and practical experimenting on the subject which had been done in the reign of Edward VI by Martin Bucer; John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester; and Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London.

Bucer had been driven out of Germany by the enforcement of the Interim of 1548, and took refuge in England. He was invited to express on paper his opinion of the 1549 Prayer Book; and the *Censura* which appeared in 1551 was the result. One object of Bucer's criticisms was the rubric before Mattins in the 1549 rite: 'The priest being in the quire, shall begin with a loud voice——' Bucer's comments on this rubric governed the thinking of the Church of England on the interior arrangement of its churches down to the foundation of the Cambridge Camden Society in the eighteen-thirties. Eminent liturgists like Cosin, L'Estrange and Wheatly, even when they question his views, treat them as worthy

of great consideration. Bucer starts from the premise that the congregation must be able to understand thoroughly all that is done in Christian worship; this involves the officiating minister reading the service clearly and reverently from a place where the congregation can hear him. In a returned stall in the chancel, with his back to the congregation, he cannot be heard easily without unduly raising his voice, especially if the church is of any size. Bucer proceeds to argue that the rubric, by placing the clergy in a special part of the church, makes them seem nearer to God than the laity. It encourages the laity to think that the liturgy is the peculiar prerogative of the clergy, that the clergy alone by saying a few prayers can procure God's favour, and that the people have no need to worship with any discernment or understanding of the services. He suggests that the churches most suitable for corporate worship are the round ones of antiquity, with the priest in the middle and the congregation standing round so that they can easily hear and understand what is being read.[1] It is easy to criticize Bucer for his emphasis on the place of mental apprehension in Christian worship; but at least he taught the Church of England that the fruits it expected to derive from a vernacular liturgy would not materialize unless its churches were so arranged that people could follow the services with ease and worship as one body with their clergy.

Bucer's ideas had been already put into practice in the Reformed Church at Strassburg. The Sunday morning service in the Reformed Congregation here was a Communion in the vernacular. The altar was moved to the western part of the chancel, where it was set altar-wise and the minister in all probability stood behind it facing the people. But the acoustic difficulties of a large medieval church meant that the minister, if he was to be heard well, had to be in the nave; consequently in Reformed Churches the altar began to be moved down into the nave near the pulpit, and eventually the pulpit came to be the place from which all the services except the actual Communion were taken. It was a principle of the Continental Reformers that baptism should be administered in the presence of

[1] Bucer, *Scripta Anglicana* (Basle, 1577), p. 457. For a translation of the passage see Appendix I. As a matter of fact round churches were not particularly common in antiquity; and in any case the altar was generally in a recess at the side. It was rather the architects of the High Renaissance who favoured centrally planned churches with the altar in the middle.

the congregation. To facilitate this the font was moved from the west end to a position near the altar and pulpit; sometimes a bason was placed on the altar.[1]

Although in the 1549 Prayer Book the priest was to take Mattins and Evensong from the choir, yet he was ordered to read the lessons 'standing and turning him, so as he may best be heard of all such as be present'. Bucer's criticisms of the 1549 Prayer Book led to an extension of this principle in the 1552 rite. The rubric before Morning Prayer read: 'The morning and evening prayer shall be used in such place of the church, chapel, or chancel, and the minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place.' The need of the congregation to hear the offices now dictated the position of the minister; there was to be elasticity in the working of the rubric to meet the peculiarities of individual churches, the bishop being allowed when there was any dispute on the matter to lay down what is the best position for the minister to occupy.

The difficulty which people found in following a celebration of the Eucharist at the high altar in a medieval church was partially met by the Offertory rubrics in the 1549 Prayer Book. While the clerks were singing the Offertory sentences those so disposed were to place their offerings in 'the poor men's box'. This required a movement of the communicants into the chancel and some sort of Offertory procession; for the Royal Injunctions of 1547 ordered 'the strong chest' in which parishioners were to place their alms to be set up near the high altar. Those who intended to communicate were ordered to 'tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side'; here they are to remain for the rest of the service.

But what was to happen if the chancel was not large enough to accommodate all the communicants? Some would have to kneel outside the chancel screen. It was perhaps this difficulty which made Hooper in one of his Lent sermons before the court in 1550 express a wish that the Government would shut up the chancels altogether and make the clergy take all the services in the nave. Such an

[1] W. D. Maxwell, *John Knox's Genevan Service Book, 1556* (Edinburgh, 1931), pp. 86–9, 46–7, 115–16.

arrangement, he maintained, would express better 'the dignity and grace of the New Testament'; the people would understand better what the minister was reading, and the communicants be able to hear and see plainly what was done at the altar as in the early Church. Proximity to the congregation would provoke the minister to pay special attention to the meaning of the services, in case his people should think him unfitted for ministering in church owing to his bad reading.[1] Hooper never had his way about chancels, however; the 1552 Prayer Book ordered that they were to remain as they had done in time past.

Hooper particularly disliked screens. In his injunctions of 1551–2 for the dioceses of Gloucester and Worcester, he gave orders that 'chapels, closets, partitions and separations' in churches were to be taken down, and the churches to be without 'closures, imparting, and separations between the ministers and the people.' To Hooper screens represented the veil of the Temple in the old dispensation, separating the people from the Holy of Holies and symbolizing the imperfection of the old covenant with its inability to lead men to the full knowledge of God. Both the separation and imperfection had been taken away in Christ; screens were therefore out of place in a Christian church. The only exception he allowed were the screens surrounding private pews, which helped the occupants to worship in quietness and recollection.[2]

From the ecclesiological point of view the most important event in the reign of Edward VI was the movement led by Ridley and Hooper to abolish the high altars of stone and to set up instead wooden communion tables. The stone altars in chantry chapels had already been largely destroyed with the dissolution of the chantries in 1548; cases then began to occur of high altars being destroyed and a table used for the Eucharist, an action quite illegal according to the ritual law of the church as it stood at the time under the 1549 Prayer Book. Hooper, for instance, in one of his Lent sermons before the court in 1550 had expressed a wish that the magistrates might be pleased 'to turn the altars into tables, according to the first institution of Christ.'[3]

[1] Hooper, *Early Writings*, (Parker Society), pp. 491–2.
[2] W. H. Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, (1910), ii, p. 285.
[3] *Early Writings*, p. 488.

Ridley was the first person in authority to take any action against the existing high altars. In his injunctions for the diocese of London put out in the summer of 1550, he does not order but exhorts curates, churchwardens and questmen, on the ground of the prevailing diversity of practice in regard to altars, 'to erect and set up the Lord's Board, after the form of an honest table, decently covered.'[1] On June the 11th, St. Barnabas's day, 1550 the high altar in St. Paul's was pulled down and a table set up in its place.[2] The legality of Ridley's action is much open to question; but in November 1550 the Council stepped in and commanded each bishop to give orders that the altars in his diocese were to be taken down and tables set up instead.[3]

The carrying-out of the order can be followed in churchwardens' accounts. According to those of Ludlow for 1551 it took two workmen six days to demolish the stone altars, and four labourers eighteen days to remove the debris out of the church; the cost to the parish was sixteen shillings. The new communion table was made of five boards, laid on a frame, though it was more usual in the middle of the sixteenth century to use a trestle. The wood, the nails, and the wages of the workman, Richard Kerver, who put the table together, came to seven shillings and sixpence.[4]

Most people consider the violence and irreverence which accompanied this movement one of the least creditable episodes in the history of our Church; but indirectly the movement helped the Church to discover how the congregation could take their part in the Eucharist. To do Ridley justice it is important to understand his terminology. He defines the piece of furniture at which the Eucharist is celebrated as 'the Lord's board'; the 1549 Prayer Book had called it 'God's board' as well as 'the altar'. The Lord's board can be made in two ways, or as Ridley would say, take two forms: the form of an altar, by which he means a fixed stone altar at the east end, and the form of a table, by which he means a wooden table on a trestle or frame, usually standing detached from the east wall in the middle of the chancel. He is prepared to say that the

[1] Frere, op. cit., ii, pp. 242–4.
[2] *Wriothesley's Chronicle* (Camden Society, 1877), ii, p. 41; *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* (Camden Society, 1852), p. 67.
[3] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i, pp. 89–90.
[4] *Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow*, ed. Thomas Wright (Camden Society, 1869), p. 46.

Lord's board, whether in the form of an altar or the form of a table, can be called both an altar and a table; a table because it is the place 'where the Holy Communion is distributed with lauds and thanksgiving unto the Lord', an altar because 'there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving'.[1] But Ridley and his school generally use the word 'table', and the 1552 Prayer Book drops the word 'altar' and speaks of 'the table', 'the Lord's table' or 'God's board'.

Ridley preferred the Lord's board in the form of a table primarily for theological reasons. The form of an altar, he maintained, was ordained for the Jewish sacrifices which anticipated Calvary; since these have been brought to an end with the coming of Christ, the form of an altar ought to be given up too and the form of a table adopted for the Lord's Supper in which we feed upon Him, 'that was once only crucified and offered for us'. Other reasons which Ridley brought up in favour of the table form were its agreement with Christ's institution of the Eucharist, and the usage of the apostles and the primitive church.[2]

But the Lord's board in the table form had this practical advantage over one in the altar form; it was movable and could be set up in the part of the church where the communicants were best able to see and hear. The Council in ordering the substitution of tables for stone altars had directed that the table was 'to be set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed communion'.[3] This is the first time that the word 'convenient' is used in an official document in connection with the position of the communion table; but it is a word of some importance in Anglican ecclesiology; the convenience of the communicants was to become the main consideration in placing the altar table.

In the years 1550–3 the most convenient part of the church was generally held to be the choir or chancel. In his injunctions for the diocese of London in 1550 Ridley ordered that the Lord's board, which the parochial officials were exhorted to set up, was to stand 'in such place of the choir or chancel, as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers with the

[1] *Works* (Parker Society), p. 322.
[2] Ibid., pp. 322–3.
[3] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i, pp. 89–90.

communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the people'.[1] The rubric in the 1549 Prayer Book which ordered the communicants to move into the chancel at the Offertory and to remain there for the rest of the service was still obeyed; but instead of kneeling with their faces towards the Lord's board fixed in the form of an altar against the east wall, they now knelt all round it set in the form of a table in the middle of the chancel (cf. Plan 30). Wriothesley describes how that 'against Easter' 1551 the table in St. Paul's, which was first introduced into the cathedral in June 1550, was removed by Ridley 'beneath the steps into the midst of the upper choir', with its ends east and west; and that 'after the creed song he caused the veil to be drawn, that no person should see but those that received, and he closed the iron grates of the choir on the north and south side with brick and plaster, that none might remain in at the choir'.[2] This action is only intelligible if the communicants assembled round the table after the Creed. In his injunctions Ridley had made a point of emphasizing that the minister and communicants were to have a place separated from the rest of the people.

The rubrics on the movement of communicants into the chancel were omitted in the 1552 Prayer Book; the latter is altogether silent on the subject. But evidently the practice of the communicants moving near the table after the Creed was meant to continue. Giacomo Soranzo, the Venetian Ambassador, describing in 1554 for the information of his Government the services at the end of the reign of Edward VI, says that 'in the place where the choir used to be they had a table, covered with the cloth, on which they put common bread and wine, making the communicants kneel round it'.[3] Facilities for kneeling were provided by forms or stools; in the Ludlow accounts for 1553 William Gyttyns was paid sixpence 'for making of the kneeling place about the Lord's table.'[4]

The communion table sometimes stood table-wise with its short ends facing east and west, and sometimes altar-wise with its short ends north and south. The 1549 Prayer Book ordered the priest to

[1] Frere, op. cit., ii, pp. 242–4. Cf. pp. 276–7, 294, for Hooper's directions on the communion table for the dioceses of Gloucester and Worcester. He did not specify any particular part of the church; the table was to stand where the minister could best be heard.

[2] *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, ii, p. 47; *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, p. 69.

[3] *Cal. S. P. Venetian*, (1534–54), p. 556.

[4] *Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow*, p. 52.

stand 'afore the midst of the altar'; and celebrants tried to obey this rubric when the table stood table-wise by standing in the middle of one of the longer sides, either the north or the south. In St. Paul's the southward position was adopted. If the table stood altar-wise, the celebrant possibly stood behind it facing west. Hooper, for instance, in his dioceses directed 'that the minister in the use of the Communion and prayers turn his face towards the people'.[1] In the latter part of Edward VI's reign there was considerable diversity of practice regarding the position of the table, the way it stood, and the position of the celebrant; and it is impossible to say with certainty what was done, beyond the fact that the communion table stood detached from any wall and that the reforming party were bent on giving up the eastward position. The 1552 Prayer Book attempted to obtain uniformity by ordering the celebrant to stand at the north side, evidently on the assumption that the communion table would stand table-wise, though it is silent on this point. The table itself was ordered to be placed 'in the body of the Church, or in the chancel, where Morning prayer, and Evening prayer be appointed to be said'. The position of the table is made to depend on the position of the minister in taking the offices; if he took them from the chancel the table was to be placed there; if in order to be heard better he had come down into the nave, the table was to be moved there too.

Both the sacramental theology of the Marian martyrs and their methods of putting this theology into practice are under a cloud to-day in the Church of England; at least their efforts to place the altar so that the communicants could kneel round it for the chief part of the Holy Mysteries deserve sympathy. The Latinists said that Ridley's table in the middle of the choir looked like an oyster board; but Ridley's proud claim at his trial cannot be altogether dismissed as an idle boast: 'as for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just consideration, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jew's usage, neither was the Supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, or more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church'.[2]

[1] Frere, op. cit., ii, pp. 276–7.

[2] *Works*, p. 281. The church of Newtown Mount Kennedy, Co. Wicklow, possesses a communion table, known as Ridley's altar, which is said to have been used by him in celebrating the Holy Communion. The table was brought from England by William

3. *The Elizabethan Settlement*

When the Prayer Book was restored in 1559 the Elizabethan authorities were more conservative than the Edwardian reformers on the arrangement of churches. The medieval plan was retained; and the rubric before Morning Prayer in the 1559 Prayer Book still as in 1552 ordered the chancels to remain as they had done in time past. There is no need to enter here into the controversy as to what extent the rubric covers the medieval fittings of the chancel; but it certainly means that the churches are to retain their chancels, whether structurally separate, or merely marked off by a screen from the rest of the building.

The chancel and nave were not to be thrown into one and made a unity for purposes of worship. The first feature in the Elizabethan arrangement of churches is the continuation of the idea that they are made up of self-contained cells. The opening of Elizabeth's reign witnessed the taking down of the great rood with its accompanying figures and the whitewashing of the Doom on the tympanum, where these had survived the reign of Edward VI or been restored under Mary. But chancel screens were not destroyed, only, to use the official word, 'transposed'. Full and explicit instructions on what was to be done with the screens were given in the Royal Order of 1561. The part of the screen to be removed was that above the large beam or beams, the breast-summers as they were called, that is to say above the coving or vaulting under the rood-loft; this included the great rood with its attendant figures and both parapets of the loft. The rest of the screen was to remain *in situ* and the top finished off with a convenient crest. The parish were at liberty to remove the screen as well as the rood-loft; but in this case a new screen had to be built to the height of the breast-summer in the one that had been taken down. Where the whole structure, screen and rood-loft, had been destroyed, and there was no parti-

Sewell, one of the founders of St. Columba's College, Rathfarnham, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and used as the altar in the college chapel; later it was purchased by a rector of Newtown Mount Kennedy for his church. No evidence is forthcoming as to the history of the table before it came to Ireland, or how it became connected with Ridley's name. The table might be sixteenth-century work; it consists of a frame with a movable top, and is five feet two inches long, two feet four inches wide, and two feet eight inches high.

tion between the chancel and nave, a new screen was to be erected.[1] The figures on the rood-loft were either burnt or defaced. The wood which made up the rood-loft was often kept for current repairs in the church, such as making and mending seats. In many parishes it was sold and used for making bed-testers, windows, weavers' looms, bridges, and repairing the wall of the churchyard or the village pound.[2]

The word used for the screen in the Royal Order was 'partition'; and in the Elizabethan period and the seventeenth century the screen was generally called the partition. The name is of some importance as it denotes the function which the Elizabethan authorities meant the screen to play in their rearrangement of the churches. It was intended to part or divide the church into two well-defined sections, the chancel and the body or the nave.

In the 1559 Prayer Book, Morning and Evening Prayer were ordered to be said 'in the accustomed place of the church, chapel or chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the ordinary of the place'. The rubric may be meant to suggest that the priest will normally occupy a stall in the chancel as he would have done in the previous reign; but it may be intentionally ambiguous. In reading the lessons the priest is to turn so as to be best heard of all that are present. In any case the clergy often took the offices from the nave, either in the pulpit or in a special seat made for the purpose.[3] The Elizabethan bishops interpreted the rubric as giving them wide powers in determining where the minister was to be placed for the offices. The Advertisements of 1566 ordered 'that the Common Prayer be said or sung decently or distinctly, in such place as the Ordinary shall think meet for the largeness and straightness of the church and choir, so that people may be most edified'.[4] An early instance of such an action on the part of the Ordinary is to be found in the injunctions of Bishop Parkhurst for the diocese of Norwich in 1569. He ordered 'that in great churches, where all the people cannot conveniently hear their minister, the churchwardens and other,

[1] Frere, op cit., iii, pp. 108–9.

[2] *English Church Furniture, Ornaments and Decorations, at the Period of the Reformation*, ed. by Edward Peacock (1866), pp. 40, 47, 57, 66, 72, 99, 104, 127. The parish of Prestbury, Cheshire, took the whole structure down and then re-erected the screen without the loft.

[3] Henry Gee, *The Elizabethan Prayer Book and Ornaments*, (1902), p.164.

[4] Frere, op. cit., iii, p. 174.

to whom that charge belongeth, shall provide and appoint a decent and convenient seat in the body of the church, where the minister may sit or stand, and say the divine service, that all the congregation may hear and be edified therewith. And that in smaller churches there be some convenient seat without the chancel door for that purpose.'[1]

Here is explicitly stated a very important feature in the Elizabethan rearrangement of medieval churches. Only in exceptional cases was the minister to read the offices from behind the screen in the chancel; his usual seat was to be in the nave. A distinction was made between 'great' and 'smaller' churches. In 'smaller' churches the seat was to be at the upper end of the nave (cf. Plans 5 and 29) by the screen, or 'without the chancel door', as the injunction says. In 'great' churches his seat was to be in 'the body of the church', by which was evidently meant some way down the nave (cf. Plans 23 and 25). The 'decent and convenient' seat from which the minister read the offices came to be known as the reading desk or reading pew. With the minister's desk in the nave, the screen no longer separated the clergy from their people; but one of the two distinct parts of the church, into which it divided the church, the nave, was now used by priest and people alike for Morning and Evening Prayer.

On the position of the communion table the Prayer Book of 1559 was content to repeat the rubric of 1552; the Latin Prayer Book was silent on the subject, merely saying that the minister is to stand at the north part.[2] At the beginning of the reign the diversity of practice which had characterized the last years of Edward VI continued. In Canterbury Cathedral the table stood as a rule altar-wise, in the place occupied by the medieval high altar. The Ante-Communion was sung each day and the minister in a surplice stood on the east side facing the congregation. For the Holy Communion, which was celebrated the first Sunday of each month, the table stood table-wise; none but communicants were allowed in the choir; there were three ministers, celebrant, epistoler and gospeller, all vested in copes.[3] The rubric in the 1559 Prayer Book received a precise determination in the section entitled 'For tables

[1] Frere, op. cit., iii, pp. 208–9.
[2] *septentrionalem partem*.
[3] J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury*, (1902), p. 209.

Plate I

THE COMMUNION SERVICE, from the frontispiece to the 2nd edition of C. Wheatly, *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer* (*1714*). The communicants have already drawn near, either at the Offertory or at the Invitation, in order to see and hear the service more easily. (See pp. 112–14, 175–6.)

in the church' in the Royal Injunctions of 1559. The injunction began by mentioning the confusion that had arisen because in some churches the stone altar had been taken down and a table substituted, while in others the stone altar was still in position. It then proceeded to say that this variation was of no great moment, except for reason of uniformity, provided 'the Sacrament be duly and reverently ministered'. This phrase expressed the main purpose of the Church's ritual law on the subject of the communion table or altar as understood by the injunction; and both the position of the table and its material were to be regulated in the light of this primary end.[1]

The injunction made four regulations. No stone altar was to be taken down except under the supervision of the parish priest and at least one churchwarden; nor was it to be done in a riotous manner. The authorities were anxious to put down the destruction of the stone altars by the mob, but they were not very successful; and even when the stone altars were taken down in the manner prescribed by the injunction, they were put to such uses as paving the floor of the church, filling gaps in the churchyard wall, mending the roads and bridging dykes.[2]

In place of the stone altar there was to be a 'holy table' in every church, and it was to be 'decently made'. It was to stand in the place where the stone altar stood; and consequently, though the injunction did not say so, its normal and usual place was intended to be against the east wall of the chancel. The table was not to be left bare. For the Eucharist the Prayer Book ordered it to be covered with a fair linen cloth, which at this period would have reached to the ground on all four sides; and the injunction ordered that it was to be covered out of service time, the phrase used being 'commonly covered'. The Royal Order of 1561 interpreted this phrase by ordering that the table was to have a covering of 'silk, buckram or other such like'.[3] A bare wooden table was not legal according to the Elizabethan Settlement. The covering was usually made out of such vestments as were now no longer wanted, and the fair linen cloth from albs. An injunction issued by Bishop Bentham in 1565 for his

[1] For the text of the injunction see Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, lxxviii, pp. 489–41.

[2] Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, pp. 37, 39, 48, 73, 110, 152.

[3] Frere, op. cit., iii, p. 109.

diocese of Coventry and Lichfield can be taken as representative of the mind of the better Elizabethan bishops at the opening of the reign. He directed that the stone altars were to be clean taken away; instead, parishes were to put up 'a decent and simple table upon a frame covered with a fair carpet, and a fine linen tablecloth upon it, in as beautiful a manner as it was being upon the altar'.[1]

According to the Royal Injunctions the table was to remain in the place where the altar stood 'saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed'; then it was to be placed 'in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister'.[2] The chancel was preserved as an independent unit, but it was now to be used by both the priest and people alike for Eucharistic worship. The table was not to remain in the middle of the choir after the Communion service. The injunction explicitly ordered that when the Communion was finished, the table was to be placed where it stood before, that is in the eastern part of the chancel.

In this way the Elizabethan authorities attempted to solve the problem of how to bring the communicants near the altar in a medieval plan of church. Elizabeth, it is true, was averse to any regulations sanctioning the removal of stone altars and the setting-up of wooden tables; and Strype prints some reasons advanced by a group of divines to induce her to change her mind. Most of the reasons are theological and a repetition of the teaching of Ridley and Hooper; but the final one points out the practical advantages to be gained from a movable communion table. It says: 'If the communion be administered at an altar, the godly prayers, etc., spoken by the minister cannot be heard of the people; especially in great churches. And so the people should receive no fruit of this part of English service. For it was all one to be in Latin and to be in English, not heard nor understood of the people.'[3]

Austerity characterized the policy of the Elizabethan authorities

[1] Frere, op. cit., iii, p. 165.

[2] The injunction says nothing about moving the table out of the chancel; but the Interpretations of the Bishops, 1560–1, order it to be removed into the nave, before the chancel door, 'where either the choir seemeth to be too little or at great feasts of receivings' (Frere, op. cit., iii, p. 62).

[3] Strype, *Annals*, (ed. 1824), I, i, pp. 237–42.

on the adornment of churches. They were cleared of much of their medieval decoration; and all shrines, pictures, and images which had given rise to superstitious and idolatrous practices were ordered to be destroyed.[1] The only decoration officially allowed was that provided by the stained-glass windows which to a large extent escaped destruction, and the royal arms and tables of the Decalogue and other texts. A parish like Ludlow seems to have expended money regularly through the reign in keeping its beautiful windows in repair. The royal arms began to appear prominently in our churches under Henry VIII; in the churchwardens' accounts of Yatton in Somerset is a record of a payment to a gilder for gilding the royal arms in 1541–2; and the Royal Order of 1561 accepts them as a suitable form of decoration when it orders the screen to be finished off with a convenient crest. In 1560 Elizabeth ordered Archbishop Parker to see that 'the tables of the Commandments be comely set or hung up in the east end of the chancel'. They are to serve a threefold purpose: edification, the provision of some comely ornament, and a demonstration that the church is a place of religion and prayer.[2] The following year more precise directions are given about their position at the east end; they are to be fixed to the wall over the communion board.[3]

The setting-up of Commandment tables was not a new idea; it had already been done in the reign of Edward VI, and in 1547 the parish of St. Michael's, Worcester, set up the Ten Commandments in their church and in addition the articles of the Belief and the Pater Noster. Under Edward VI they were placed either on the west face of the rood-loft or on the tympanum; and in spite of the Royal Order of 1561 they continued to be set up almost as frequently on the tympanum or the wall over the chancel arch as over the communion table at the east end. Braun describes a German medieval reredos in the Welfen museum at Hanover, which consists of angels each bearing a commandment on a scroll; and each commandment is symbolized by a scene from the Old Testament.[4]

[1] Royal Injunctions, 1559, XXIII. This was a re-enactment of an injunction of Edward VI issued in 1547 (Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i, pp. 17, 189).

[2] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i, p. 262.

[3] Frere, op. cit., iii, p. 109. Ludlow church possesses a board with the Commandments considerably shortened, dating from 1561. It is headed: 'The X Commandments of almighty God', and round the Commandments are the letters I H S and the Tudor rose.

[4] Joseph Braun, S.J., *Der Christliche Altar* (Munich, 1924), ii, p. 505.

In 1560–1 the accounts of St. Thomas's, Salisbury, mention another form of decoration, that of writing sentences from scripture on the walls; a painter and his men were paid for what the accounts call 'writing of scripture in the church'.[1] But this again was not a new method of decoration; it had been used under Edward VI, when sentences from scripture were written up warning the people against the perils of idolatry.[2] But sentences of a more positive nature had also been used, as for instance the parables of the ten virgins, the talents, and the sheep and the goats from St. Matthew xxv, and the discourse on the Bread of Life from St. John vi.[3]

The rubrics, royal orders and royal and episcopal injunctions dating from the early years of Elizabeth are the chief sources of the ecclesiastical law of the Church of England on how a church should be arranged for Prayer Book worship. They represent an attempt on the part of the Church to adapt according to Bucer's principles a medieval building to the needs of a worship that is both liturgical and congregational. Since 1559 the history of the arrangement of our churches falls into three periods. In the first, which extends from 1559 to 1841, churches were arranged on the whole according to principles which represented a development of those laid down at the Elizabethan Settlement. The second period, from 1841 to about 1930, witnessed an ever increasing departure from these principles as a result of the new ideas of Christian worship and church building which originated from the Oxford Movement and the Gothic Revival. The chief outward characteristic of this period was the filling of chancels with organs and stalls for a surpliced choir, with the consequent separation of the people from the altar. Since 1930 the Church has entered a new period, marked by a hesitant reaction against the typical nineteenth-century arrangement. The following chapters will attempt to show how far the Church in each of the three periods has been faithful in the planning and adaptation of its buildings to the ideal of the reformers that the liturgy should be Common Prayer.

[1] *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Edmund and St. Thomas, Sarum*, 1443–1702, ed. by H. J. F. Swayne, (Wiltshire Record Society, 1896), p. 281.

[2] Preston, Suffolk, has an Elizabethan royal arms, painted on a tryptych, with sentences on the side panels warning people against idolatry. There are traces of the arms of Edward VI under those of Elizabeth, and the triptych may date from his time. If so, the sentences are probably Edwardian too, and are an example of the minatory type of sentence characteristic of our churches in his reign.

[3] J. F. Nicholls and J. Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present* (Bristol, 1881), ii, p. 222; John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England*, (1797), p. 13.

Chapter II

THE CHANCEL SCREEN

1. The Post-Reformation Use of the Chancel Screen

The key to the method of arranging our parish churches between 1559 and 1841 was the retention of the chancel screen under the Royal Order of 1561. This meant the survival in the majority of our churches of the medieval screens; their threatened destruction was averted, and it was only in the nineteenth century that so many disappeared. Not only the screens remained, but the tympana too; they were now white-washed over and decorated with the royal arms; as Mr. Aymer Vallance has pointed out, a great proportion of these tympana survived till the nineteenth century.[1] It was neither the Reformation nor the Civil War which emptied our churches of much of their screen work but Victorian restorations. Writing as late as 1851 Pugin could bestow praise on the Church of England for its adherence to the medieval principle of dividing the church into parts by screens; he had little sympathy for the religion of Anglicans, but architecturally he admitted they had been good tenants of the old fabrics.[2]

The retention of medieval screens made any general building of new ones unnecessary, but when needed they continued to be put up almost continuously till the Oxford Movement; in the church at Deane, in Hampshire, is a chancel screen dating from 1818.

[1] *English Church Screens*, p. 25.
[2] *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood-lofts*, p. 5.

The Laudian period was, in particular, one of screen building; they were thought to be important, and bishops[1] took trouble to insert questions about them in their visitation articles. Richard Montague, Bishop of Norwich, in his visitation articles in 1638 goes into great detail. 'Is your chancel', he asks, 'divided from the nave or body of your church, with a partition of stone, boards, wainscot, grates, or otherwise? wherein is there a decent strong door to open and shut, (as occasion serveth) with lock and key, to keep out boys, girls, or irreverent men and women? and are dogs kept from coming to besoil or profane the Lord's table?'[2]

A notable screen of the Laudian period is one in Cartmel Priory, in Lancashire, put up between 1618 and 1622. It is superimposed on the medieval stalls and separates the chancel from the nave and chancel aisles. The work is traditionally ascribed to Flemish carvers; but whoever was responsible for it, the work is of an extremely high order and more than able to hold its own with the best of medieval work or that of Grinling Gibbons. The frieze and the columns supporting the canopies over the stalls are carved with the instruments of the Passion. The work was due to the initiative of George Preston, of Holker Hall, who died in 1640. The Preston memorial in the church records how: 'The said George, out of his zeal to God, at his great charges, repaired this church, being in great decay, with a new roof of timber, and beautified it within very decently, with fretted plaster work, adorned the chancel with curiously carved woodwork, and placed therein a pair of organs of great value.' The 'curiously carved woodwork' refers to the screen and canopies over the stalls; but though George Preston bore a great deal of the cost, from the churchwardens' accounts it seems that the parish contributed its share. The instruments of the Passion include not only those directly connected with the Crucifixion, but also the torches and lanterns, the sword and the ear, the cock, and the pillar and scourges; and they are an example of that devo-

[1] E.g., Andrews, Wren, Montague, Duppa, Juxon, Cosin.

[2] *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Ritual* (1868), p. 579b. References to episcopal injunctions and visitation article after 1603 will be given from the collection contained in Appendix E of this report, pp. 399–685. It will be cited as *Ritual Report*. An instance of the trouble taken in this period to provide a door in the chancel screen is to be found in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Andrew's, Canterbury, for the years 1576–8, where the various items of expenditure connected with making and putting up a new door with its fastenings are recorded in great detail, see *Arch. Cant.*, xxxv, p. 74. After 1662 questions about screens disappear from visitation articles.

tion to the Passion which characterized Anglicanism in the seventeenth century.

The taste for screens spread to Scotland. In 1621 Archbishop Spottiswode built a church at Dairsie in Fife which was meant to serve as a model for Scottish country churches. It was furnished with 'a glorious partition wall with a degree ascending thereto'. Unfortunately in the popular mind screens and episcopal government seem to have gone together; and in 1641 the Synod of Fife pronounced the screen and ascents to be superstitious. The choir was ordered to be lowered, and the screen hewn down with axes to the level of the pews.[1]

The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also engaged in screen building; two examples, for instance, of finish and refinement, dating from the earlier part of this period, are to be seen at Cruwys Morchard in Devonshire, and Crowcombe in Somerset. The screen at Cruwys Morchard was put up when the church was rebuilt some years after the fire of 1689, and judging from the large bill for joiner's work which came to nearly fourteen hundred pounds, those who were responsible for furnishing the church spent liberally. The Crowcombe screen dates from 1729, and in the churchwardens' accounts for that year is a payment to Mr. Thomas Parker of just over seventy-three pounds 'for making the screens, flooring and wainscotting the altar'.[2] Perhaps the finest products of eighteenth-century screen work are the wrought-iron grilles, which were sometimes used to divide the chancel from the nave.[3] A very handsome one can be seen in All Saints' Church, Derby, a church which is now the cathedral (Plan 8). The grille encloses the Consistory Court and the Cavendish Chapel as well as the chancel, and was put up at the cost of a little over three hundred pounds when the church was built in 1725. The craftsman responsible for this work was Robert Bakewell.[4] A number of Bristol churches once had fine grilles; a notable example still stands at the entrance to the

[1] For this information we are indebted to the Rev. A. Graham Webster, the present minister of Dairsie.

[2] *Proc. Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, liv, 1, p. 61. Sometimes the screen was in the form of gates, like the massive oak gates of the eighteenth century which fill the chancel arch at Wickhamford, Worcestershire.

[3] Ashburnham, Sussex, has a wrought-iron screen which dates from the time when the church was rebuilt in 1665.

[4] Bakewell was also responsible for the grille which was put up as a chancel screen at Staunton Harold, Leicestershire, c. 1711.

tower in St. Mary Redcliffe, and was originally put up in 1710 as a chancel screen.[1]

The primary reason for the retention of medieval chancel screens and the building of new ones was neither aesthetic nor antiquarian, though in the Laudian period the latter reason may have contributed to their popularity. Their real purpose was functional. The Church on the Continent was occupied throughout this period in emptying medieval churches of their chancel screens; and in new ones it dispensed with them altogether. It aimed at open space culminating in a dramatic altar. In the Church of England another principle prevailed, with the chancel screen playing an integral part in the arrangement of churches. Hooper had wanted all screens destroyed and the chancels closed or pulled down in the interests of corporate worship. But the Church of England largely rejected such revolutionary ideas and left them to be carried out by the baroque architects of the Continent. Instead, the Church used the chancel screen as a means of solving the problem of how to adapt a medieval plan of church for Prayer Book worship. Under Elizabeth the Puritans complained that the retention of the screens made churches like the Jewish Temple and continued that separation of the people from the holiest place of all, characteristic of the old covenant which Christ had brought to an end. Hooker, in answering this objection, admitted that the screen marked a distinction between the clergy and laity; but in practice it was not one which was at all strictly observed. He goes on to show that the real purpose of the screen is not marking off a most holy place, where only the high priest might enter according to the custom of the Jews, but the provision of a special part in the church where the faithful might assemble for the Holy Mysteries without interruption or disturbance from intruders.[2]

Hooker is content to enunciate a principle; a fuller exposition of the part played by the chancel screen in churches arranged for

[1] *Trans. Brist. and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, xxxii, pp. 155–8; C. F. W. Dering, *The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Bristol* (1923), pp. 148–51. Other Bristol churches which had wrought-iron screens were St. Nicholas's, the Temple, and St. Thomas's; the finest was in the Temple; it dated from 1726 and remained, though not in its original position, till the church was destroyed by enemy action in 1940. Penkridge, Staffordshire, has some wrought-iron chancel gates, dated 1778; they originally belonged to an eighteenth-century house in Cape Town, and were given to Penkridge in 1880.

[2] *Works*, (ed. 1888), ii, p. 53.

Prayer Book services is to be found in the famous sermon on the Prayer Book, which Dr. William Beveridge, later to be Bishop of St. Asaph, preached at the consecration of St. Peter's, Cornhill, in 1681. Beveridge had insisted that a screen should be put up, rather against Wren's wishes, and he felt it necessary to explain his insistence in the sermon. The screen, he argues, shows our oneness with the practice of the universal church and our desire wherever possible to avoid novelty and singularity in worship. But these reasons apart, the screen serves to shut off the chancel as a separate place to be used in the celebration of the Eucharist, not only by the priest but by the communicants as well.[1]

The screen served to divide the church into two parts, the chancel and the body of the nave; hence in the seventeenth century it was generally treated as a partition, not as in pre-Reformation days in order to separate the clergy from the laity in the performance of the liturgy, but to provide a different place in the church for each service, where priest and people could both gather. The screen, with its doors usually kept locked, provided a real division between the chancel, the place for the Eucharist, and the other parts of the church. Where the tympanum remained, the chancel became a communion room almost completely shut off from the nave; and in order to emphasize its separateness, new tympana as well as new screens continued to be put up all through the period. At Molland in Devonshire, for instance, is what has been called a quasi-screen put up some time in the eighteenth century, consisting of three large openings and a chancel gate set in a round-headed doorway; over it is a tympanum which was adorned with the Decalogue and royal arms in 1808.[2]

[1] *Works*, vi, pp. 388–9.

[2] At Wyke Champflower, Somerset, built in 1624, is a screen with a tympanum; Chesterton, Huntingdonshire, has an early eighteenth-century screen and tympanum. Even when there was no tympanum, the upper part of the chancel arch was not left empty. Sometimes it was filled by a royal arms, placed on top of the screen; e.g. as at Ingestre, Staffordshire, where both the screen and the royal arms are magnificent examples of English baroque and are very probably the work of Grinling Gibbons. Sometimes screens were built with vertical instead of horizontal lines, e.g. as those at Brancepeth and Sedgefield, Co. Durham (Plan 24) put up between 1630 and 1640. Their soaring pinnacles, possibly reminiscent of the Neville screen at Durham Cathedral, are a substitute for the tympanum and appear to fill the whole chancel arch. At St. Paul's, Walden, Hertfordshire, is a screen where the same effect has been achieved by placing on the top a row of urns and in the centre a panel with the letters I H S. The screen, which is a beautiful piece of work, was put up in 1727 by Mr. Edward Gilbert, an ancestor of Her Majesty the Queen.

The solid stone screen, or pulpitum, which in the Middle Ages separated the choir from the nave in cathedral and collegiate churches, was also retained, but not for the same reason as the chancel screen in parish churches. In cathedrals the pulpitum made the choir a separate place where the cathedral body and such as cared to join them could sing the daily offices. The nave formed an enormous narthex to this church within a church, and in many cathedrals was utilized as a special place for sermons. The pulpitum became or remained an organ loft, and was usually known as an organ screen. Great organ cases still further enhanced the separation between choir and nave, and added not a little to the beauty of the interior. Great pride was taken in these organ cases and George III himself gave one to Salisbury Cathedral. New screens and organ lofts were also built; Winchester Cathedral, for instance, once possessed a choir screen ascribed to Inigo Jones.[1] The late medieval practice of adorning the west face of a pulpitum with statues of royal personages was also continued.[2] In 1731 a screen of what was described as 'fine white Roche abbey stone' was put up in Beverley Minster. It was not a parochial screen, but a pulpitum, making the choir a separate place where the parishioners could assemble for all the services except baptism, the font being still kept in the nave. The screen was built under the direction of a Mr. Moyser, who a few years previously had given a stone altar table which is said to have been in a mixed Gothic and Renaissance style. The archway is described as being 'surmounted by a high central cluster of three cherubs, supported by two sitting angels, the one handling a harp, and the other blowing a trumpet'. When the parishioners wanted to adorn the screen still further in 1781, they proceeded to do so in the traditional way by placing statues in the alcoves each side of the archway; one was of King Athelstan, the other of St. John of Beverley. St. John was represented in vestments, and given a tall

[1] Choir screens and organ lofts were erected at Durham towards the end of Cosin's episcopate, at Gloucester in 1820 and Peterborough in 1828. In St. Paul's the choir was separated from the space under the dome by Tijou's wrought-iron gates and screen, surmounted by the organ loft. The Gloucester screen is the only one of these still *in situ*.

[2] The Winchester screen had statues of James I and Charles I. Sir Paul Pinder, James I's Ambassador at Constantinople, adorned the west face of the screen in old St. Paul's 'with fair pillars of black marble, and statues of those Saxon kings which had been founders or benefactors to the Church; see Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (ed. 1818), pp. 107–8.

mitre such as was fashionable amongst Counter-Reformation bishops.[1]

By retaining the chancel screen and often too the tympanum, the Church went a considerable way towards solving the problem of how to adapt a medieval building for Prayer Book worship. The screen may still divide the church into self-contained parts as it did in medieval days; but the different rooms thus created are used for different services, not for different sections of the congregations. Hooker enumerates, for instance, five places into which the church is divided, and says they are used for Baptism, the Solemnization of Matrimony, the Supper of the Lord, sermons, and Morning and Evening Prayer.[2] In actual fact, the church usually falls into two parts, the chancel and the body of the nave. The chancel is kept for the Eucharist and such services as Marriage and the Churching of Women which the Prayer Book connects with the altar; the nave for Morning and Evening Prayer and sermons, with a space marked off by the door for the font and the christening party.

In large town churches the principle of different parts of the church for different services resulted in a transept or side-chapel often being used as a special place for the week-day services. It was called a Morning Prayer chapel, and was fitted with seats and a reading pew; but there was no altar (cf. Plans 22 and 40). The chapel was intended for the daily service, and opinion was against putting up an altar unless it was meant to be used.[3]

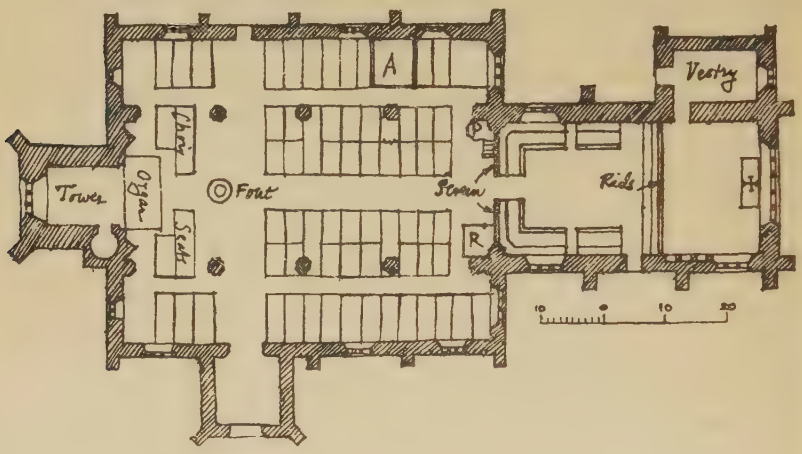
The principle of having different services in different parts of the church was sometimes extended to having them in different buildings. In large country parishes there might be a chapel-of-ease for parishioners in the outlying parts, furnished with a reading pew and

[1] *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xxiv. pp. 111–12; cf. also George Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley* (Beverley, 1829), pp. 326–7, 333. The screen was removed in 1877; but the statues were preserved and now stand, one each side of the south door in the nave; they were the work of a local craftsman, W. Collins, of Driffield, and were cast in lead; their height is about six feet six inches, and they are painted a light stone colour.

[2] *Works*, ii, pp. 141–2.

[3] Morning Prayer chapels were usual in cathedrals. Cf. *Wren Society*, xiii, plate xx, for the plan of the Morning Prayer chapel which Wren provided in the north-west corner of the nave in St. Paul's. In Westminster Abbey, Henry VII's chapel was used as a Morning Prayer chapel; until the Civil War it had Torrigiano's altar, and after the Restoration a wooden altar was put in, as the chapel was often used for episcopal consecrations. Morning Prayer chapels were not confined to the Church of England. In the north transept of Florence Cathedral there used to be a large glass house, inside which the canons recited the divine office during winter protected from draughts. (Benjamin Webb, *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology* (1848), p. 319.)

pulpit, but no altar. Here they could attend the offices, provided a minister was available; it formed, in fact, an office church. The congregation would use the parish church as a sacrament church, resorting to it for christenings and the Communion.[1]



Plan 3

BURNESTON, North Riding, Yorkshire. *A medieval building reseated in 1627, the main seating in the nave still remaining; A is the Allerthorpe pew of the same date. The pulpit, reading desk, organ, and choir seats date presumably from the mid-Victorian restoration and the chancel fittings, including the stalls, are of the same period. But all these fittings follow closely the traditional arrangements, and it is stated that the chancel stalls are still used by the communicants.*

The English Church was not the only reformed body which adapted medieval churches to its worship by the use of different

[1] Two examples of these office churches are Woodhey Chapel, now in the parish of Acton, Cheshire, and the Jesus Chapel in the parish of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire. Woodhey chapel, which was originally in the parish of Baddiley, was built c. 1700, and appears never to have had an altar, the pulpit being in the middle of the east wall and the reading pew in the north-east corner. The Jesus Chapel, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, was founded in 1623 and rebuilt in 1787; it never had an altar till the chapel was refurnished in 1941. Here the men still sit on one side of the church and the women on the other. Llanfihangel Helygen, Radnorshire, though a parish church, never had an altar till modern times, the people resorting to neighbouring churches for the sacraments.

parts for different services. The Lutherans retained the screen and rood-loft in their medieval churches, and divided them into two parts, the chancel for Communion and the nave for preaching; the chancel was called the *abendmahlkirche* and the nave the *predigtkirche*. There are traces of the same practice in Scotland during the first few years after the Reformation; but it very soon died out. Communion came to be celebrated in the nave, and the chancel was either pulled down or made into a place for a family pew.[1]

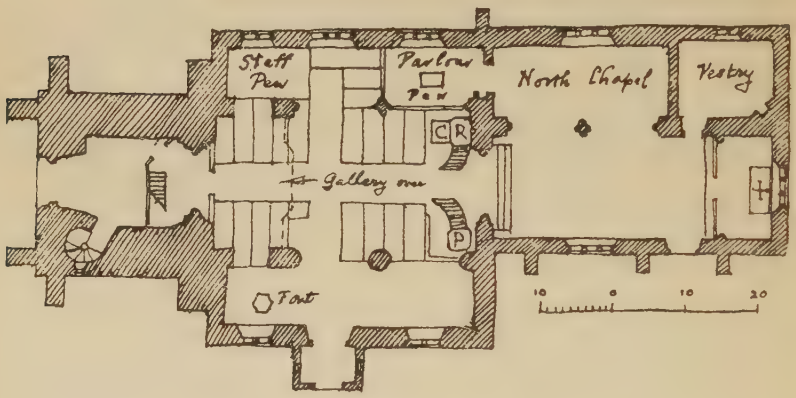
Modern restorations have, as a rule, swept away from our medieval churches all traces of this method of adapting them for Prayer Book worship. A very few, with separate structural chancels divided from the nave by a screen, are still arranged and used as medieval churches were throughout the period from 1559 till the eighteen-forties.[2] The font stands at the west end, and the priest takes Morning and Evening Prayer from a reading pew in the nave. The choir sit at the back of the church, and the chancel is still used by the communicants. But nowadays they generally kneel in it throughout the whole Communion service from the first Our Father onwards; not as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the Offertory. This means that in spite of long chancels and chancel screens the churches are so arranged that the communicants can kneel near the altar throughout the whole service.[3] The process by which medieval churches were adapted for Prayer Book worship might be summed up as one of taking the communicants into the chancel for the Eucharist, so that they can be within sight and hearing of the priest at the altar; and of bringing down the priest from the chancel into the nave so that he could be amongst his people for Morning and Evening Prayer.

[1] A. L. Drummond, *The Church Architecture of Protestantism*, 1934, pp. 22–5.

[2] E.g., Kedington, Suffolk (Plan 16); Burneston, Yorkshire (Plan 3.)

[3] Baddiley, Cheshire; Molland and Parracombe (Plan 28), Devonshire; Lockington, Leicestershire; Rycote Chapel, Oxfordshire; Wickhamford, Worcestershire; Slaidburn, Yorkshire, are other examples of churches where the screen divides the nave and chancel and the reading pew is in the nave, while the chancel has never been fitted with seats for a modern surpliced choir. Even when the screen had been destroyed, the reading pew was still placed in the nave and the chancel left empty save for one or two pews, as can still be seen at Little Washbourne, Gloucestershire; Hexton, Hertfordshire (Plan 4); Harefield, Middlesex (Plan 15); Inglesham, Wiltshire; Strensham, Worcestershire. Llanrhychwyn, Carnarvonshire, is an example of how in all probability some of the churches with twin naves and chancels in and around the Vale of Clwyd were adapted for Prayer Book services. The south aisle contains the altar and forms a communion aisle; while the reading pew and pulpit are at the east end of the north aisle, making it into a special place for the offices and sermon.

So far the arrangement of our churches between 1559 and the eighteen-forties has been discussed on the assumption that it was only a question of adapting medievally planned buildings to the worship of the Prayer Book. This was true of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period; the Church possessed enough places for public worship without having to build new ones. The only church of any size planned during Elizabeth's reign was one begun by the Earl of



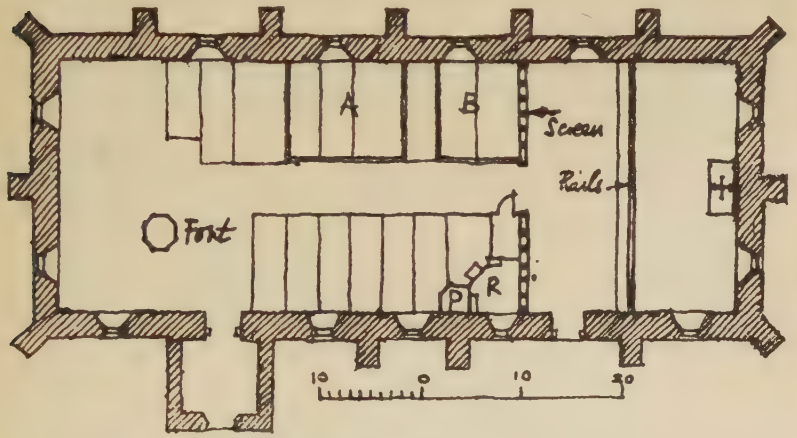
Plan 4

HEXTON, Hertfordshire. *A medieval building refitted in 1824, with pulpit and reading pew on either side of the chancel arch (as at Leighton Bromswold, Plan No. 17, though there the stairs are on the opposite side). Note the concentration of the seating in relation to the pulpit and reading pew, and the empty chancel reserved for Communion services. The parlour pew has a table and a small fireplace; the altar and rails are modern.*

Leicester in Denbigh Castle, which was intended to serve not only as the castle chapel, but also as a new cathedral for the diocese of St. Asaph. In plan the church was an aisled rectangle; but it was never completed, and no evidence has so far come to light on how it was to be arranged. A spirit of devotion may have gone with the building plans; when Richard Fenton, the Welsh antiquary, visited the castle in 1808 he saw a corner stone with this inscription:

Fundamentum Christus
Exedificatio Christiani Compago
Caritas Numen Spiritus Sanctus
R Leycester
1° *Sep^bris* 1578.[1]

There was a certain amount of church building and restoration in the Laudian period; mostly these churches follow the medieval



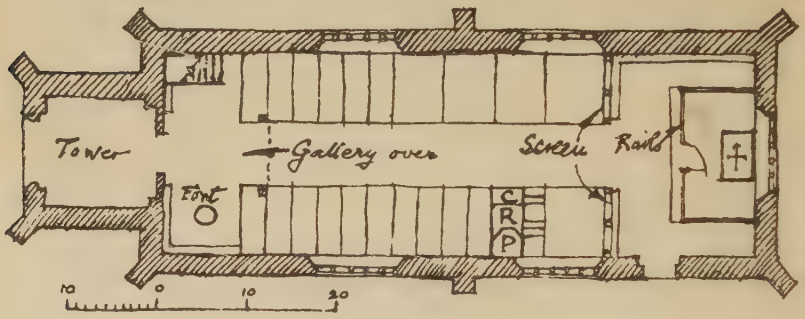
Plan 5

BROUGHAM, ST. NINIAN'S, Westmorland. *Rebuilt and furnished 1656–60 by Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke. The pews marked A and B have tall screen-work with turned posts. The altar-piece consists of three wooden panels, with the Decalogue and Tetragrammaton in the centre, the Our Father and verses from Psalm cxix on the north and the Creed on the south. Note the communicants' space east of the screen.*

plan and fall into self-contained parts. The church of St. John the Evangelist, Leeds (Plan 31) consecrated by Archbishop Neale in 1634, is a building with twin naves and a chancel divided from the rest of the building by a heavily ornamented screen. When Lord

[1] Richard Fenton, *Tours in Wales* (1804–1813) (Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1917), p. 139.

Scudamore repaired and reroofed Abbey Dore in Herefordshire (Plan 33) also in 1634, he kept the crossing under the central tower for Baptisms and Morning and Evening Prayer; it was fitted with a font, reading pew, pulpit, and seats. Along the west wall was a gallery for singers. The crossing was divided from the chancel by John Abel's vigorous screen work; and the chancel, save for one pew by the screen, was left empty for communicants. St. Catherine Cree, which Laud consecrated in 1631, is the usual aisled rectangle,



Plan 6

FOREMARK, Derbyshire. *Built 1662. The screen and pews are of this date, as is the altar consisting of a stone* mensa *on a wooden frame. The rails are of eighteenth-century wrought-iron work, and the west gallery was erected in 1819. Note the communicants' seats in the chancel, and the seats by the font. The building has been little altered, except that no plaster remains on the walls internally. According to an inventory of 1685, the altar was furnished with a 'blue carpet'.*

which was common in late medieval church building in London. In view of the outcry, aroused by the ceremonial at the consecration, it would be interesting to know the precise details of the way in which the church was arranged; but no reliable evidence is forthcoming: there appears to have been no screen.

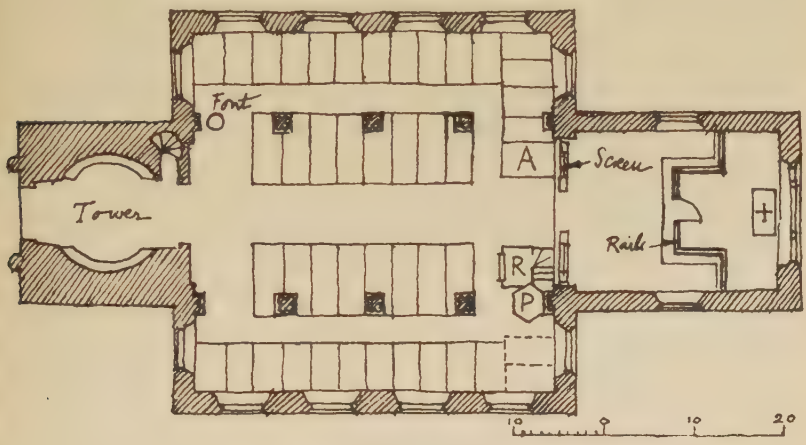
The medieval plan continued during the Commonwealth in places where churchmen seem to have been able to build without molestation,[1] and was still the fashion outside London after the Restora-

[1] E.g., Staunton Harold Chapel, Leicestershire, and St. Ninian's, Brougham, Westmorland (Plan 5). The chapel at Staunton Harold, which was built by Sir Robert Shirley,

Plate II

Interior of St. Peter's, Cornhill, from an engraving published by R. Wilkinson, 1825. This is a good example of a Wren interior planned on medieval lines. It is one of Wren's two London churches with chancel screens (see p. 50), though he included one at Ingestre, Staffs. (see Plan 7). The pulpit, with its great tester, is placed close to the screen, but in many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century churches a more usual position might have been against the pier further west.

tion.[1] Eighteenth-century architects, such as James Gibbs and Nicholas Hawksmoor, occasionally used it. Derby Cathedral (Plan 8), which is one of Gibbs's best buildings, is divided into parts by its wrought-iron screens.[2] Across the east end of two of Hawksmoor's churches, Christchurch, Spitalfields, and St. Mary, Wool-



Plan 7

INGESTRE, Staffordshire. *Built 1676 to the designs of Sir Christopher Wren; the screen of the same date has been ascribed to Grinling Gibbons. The pew marked A seems to have been the manorial pew. The rails are modern but apparently follow the original arrangement. Although this country church by Wren follows a medieval pattern, note that the nave and aisles form a perfect square. A modern vestry and organ have been omitted.*

---

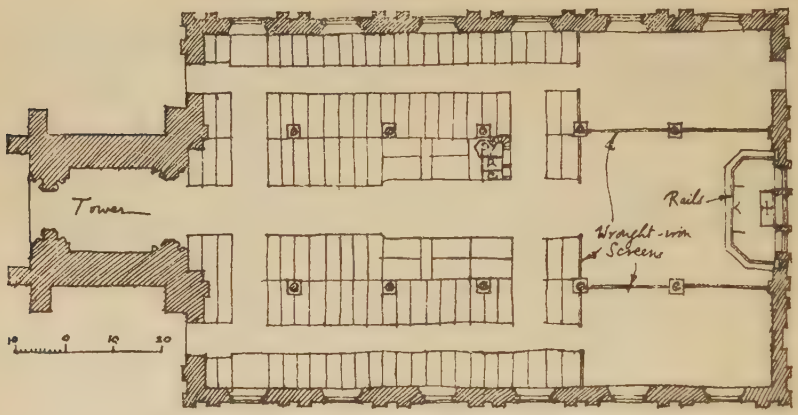
and completed after his death in 1663, has an aisled nave and a chancel that is structurally separate. St. Ninian's, Brougham, was rebuilt by Lady Anne Clifford between 1656 and 1660; a screen divides the church into two parts; there is a two-storeyed pulpit in the nave, and the chancel is empty except for the altar and communion rails.

[1] E.g., Foremark, Derbyshire (Plan 6); Monnington-on-Wye, Herefordshire; Ingestre, Staffordshire (Plan 7). All three have largely escaped restoration and still retain their original arrangements; there is a chancel screen, the minister reads the service from a desk in the nave, and the chancel is left empty for communicants. Foremark was built by Sir Francis Burdett and consecrated by Bishop Hackett in 1662. It is the most perfect of the three. Ingestre is one of Wren's buildings and was consecrated in 1676; here the pews have been cut down, but otherwise it has not been much altered. Monnington-on-Wye was rebuilt in 1679 through the generosity of Uvedall and Mary Tomkins; it has been only slightly restored.

[2] v.s.p. 39.

noth, are four pillars carrying the entablature; they serve the same purpose as a screen and create a space in front of the altar recess, separate from the nave and corresponding to the chancel in the ordinary medieval building.[1]

But in spite of the persistence of the medieval plan there was an increasing tendency after the Restoration to do away with screens, and in building new churches to do away with the medieval plan



Plan 8

All Saints', Derby. *Built in 1725 under James Gibbs (1682–1754) as architect, on a purely medieval plan. The well-known wrought-iron screens of the same date were the work of Robert Bakewell; they run right across the church in the manner of a medieval screen, and the returned parclose screens enclose the Cavendish Chapel on the south, and what is now the Consistory Court of the diocese on the north. The plan shows the empty chancel and the arrangement of pews as at the time when the church was built.*

altogether. Wren is said to have disliked screens; and only two of his London churches, St. Peter's, Cornhill, and All Hallows, Thames Street, had them.[2] Screens were often removed from old churches,

[1] Witherslack, Westmorland (Plan 23), has a handsome colonnade across the east end, which marks off the Communion place from the rest of the building. It dates from 1768, and is reminiscent of the earlier basilicas.

[2] This latter church was pulled down in 1894, but the screen was removed to St. Margaret's Lothbury. For St. Peter's, Cornhill, see Plate II.

though on a small scale compared with the destruction which they suffered in the nineteenth century. The authorities in the diocese of York had a number of screens cut down. In 1720 Dr. Heneage Dering, Dean of Ripon and Archdeacon of the East Riding, made an order for his archdeaconry that 'the partition or screen betwixt the body of the church and chancel to be taken down, from the balk or beam downwards as far as the cancelli, and the king's arms set up in some more convenient place'. Similar orders were given by Dr. Charles Blake, the Archdeacon of York, for churches under his jurisdiction, and by Dr. Richard Osbalderston, the Dean of York, for the peculiars of the Dean and Chapter.[1] There is no evidence to show why these dignitaries disliked screens; in all probability it was a love of vistas and a desire for light and open space. But after Heneage Dering's death, at least one parish returned to the old ways. In 1781 the people of Bubwith in the East Riding replaced the screen which Heneage Dering had ordered to be destroyed, by what was described as an elegant pierced screen of wainscot in the modern Gothic style.[2]

Even when the screen had been removed churchmen still showed an attachment to the screen principle. There is no proper screen in the church at Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire (Plan 17), which was restored by George Herbert; but the division between the nave and chancel is marked by a low partition about five feet high.[3] The vestry minutes for 1675 of the church of Llanerfyl in Montgomeryshire contain an order that the rood-loft is to be removed; but the minutes also quite clearly state that the door under the loft is to remain in order to make a distinction between the nave and chancel.[4] In 1782 the chancel screen, which dated from the Restoration, was removed from the church at Sandon in Staffordshire; but the chancel arch was not left empty. The distinction between the nave and chancel is maintained by a flying pew or pew screen which takes the place of the medieval rood-loft.[5] Eighteenth-century architects, even when they did not put in a chancel screen,

[1] *A.A.S. Reports and Papers*, vi, 2, pp. 179–81.
[2] *Yorks. Arch. Jour.*, xxiv, p. 125.
[3] At Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, the chancel is divided from the nave by Jacobean railing.
[4] *Arch. Camb.*, vi, 3, p. 92.
[5] In Whitby Parish Church is a similar flying pew across the chancel arch, called the Cholmondley pew. There are a few instances from the late Middle Ages of the laity sitting in a rood-loft.

often continued to adhere partially to the medieval plan by building a chancel which was structurally distinct from the nave.[1]

2. *The Screen Principle in Auditory Churches*

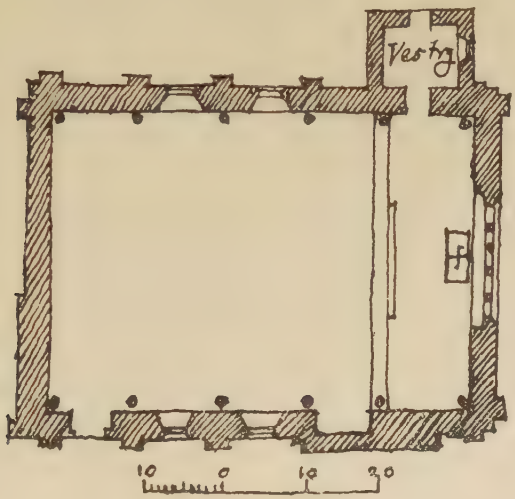
Although the medieval plan continued in some form or other to influence church building all through the period, yet right from the beginning of the seventeenth century architects had been feeling their way towards a wholly new type of church, usually known as an auditory or room church. Two early instances of such a church are to be seen in Langley Chapel in Shropshire (Plan 29), and at Hulcote in Bedfordshire. The chapel at Langley was built about 1601; it is one room with no screen or structural chancel; the Communion part at the east end being marked by one step up from the nave.[2] At Hulcote, which was rebuilt by Sir Richard Chernocke some time before 1615, the only attempt to designate a special part of the church as a chancel is a plain arch towards the east end, springing from moulded corbels; otherwise the church is a single room. The building which of set purpose first departed from the medieval plan is St. Paul's, Covent Garden, built by Inigo Jones and consecrated in 1638. According to Horace Walpole, the Earl of Bedford, on whose property the church was built, told Inigo Jones that he would not go to any considerable expense, and that in short he would not have it much better than a barn; to which the architect replied: 'You shall have the handsomest barn in England.' An article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1812 very rightly speaks of it as creating both in plan and in elevation a revolution in the established Christian mode of architecture. Unfortunately the inside of the church has been altered several times; it was badly damaged by fire in 1795 and almost rebuilt three years later. For its arrangements in the seventeenth century we are forced to rely on general descriptions. From the ecclesiologist's point of view the important thing about the church is precisely its barn-like character; it is a single rectangular room (cf. Plan 9) with no screen to divide it into chancel and nave, and no arcades to form a nave and

[1] E.g., Melchbourne, Bedfordshire, 1779; Gayhurst, Buckinghamshire, 1728; Tyberton, Herefordshire, 1720; Ingleby Arncliffe, Yorkshire, 1821.

[2] A step was the only thing which marked the distinction between the nave and chancel at Little Gidding, Huntingdonshire.

aisles. Galleries surrounded it on three sides and there was an altar against the east wall.[1]

This room plan of church was developed and popularized by Wren; even when his churches have aisles they are still single rooms, open from end to end and forming one whole, with the altar immediately against the east wall or in a recess. Only in two of his



Plan 9

BRAMPTON BRYAN, Herefordshire. *Built 1656. The original fittings have disappeared, but the plan (from which some nineteenth-century additions have been omitted) is of interest as showing a good example of an auditory or 'room church', the width being over thirty-six feet internally to a length of only fifty-three feet. The great roof is of double hammer-beam construction resting on the wall posts shown.*

London churches did he introduce a screen and so divide the church into separate parts.[2] In a letter to a friend on the subject of the Act of Parliament of 1711, which made provision for fifty new churches

[1] There is a small plan in Colin Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717), ii, plate 20; but the only fittings shown are the altar and communion rails; and in any case we cannot be sure that these are the same as when the church was first built. The three-storied pulpit in front of the altar which is seen in early nineteenth-century plans of the church dates from the 1798 restoration.

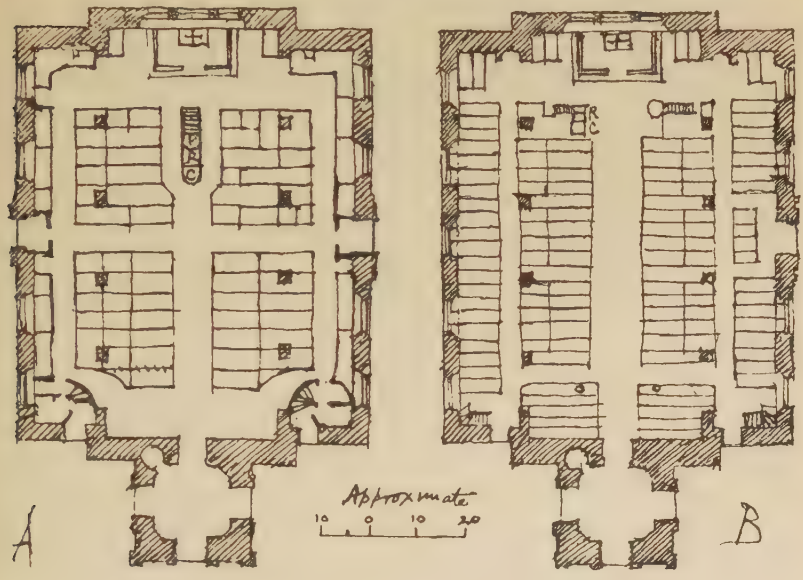
[2] v.s.p. 50.

to be built in London and Westminster, Wren discusses the room plan at some length. The letter ranks in importance with Bucer's letter on the position of the minister while taking the offices, and is one of the chief source documents for the history of Anglican ecclesiology.

Wren states that his aim in designing a church was to produce a building in which all the congregation could conveniently see and hear the minister; churches must be what he calls 'auditories', and in future this plan of church will, for convenience, be called the auditory plan. Wren's use of the word 'auditories' has frequently led people to suppose that both he and his school designed this plan of church principally for the hearing of sermons, in contrast to the medieval plan which was meant for worship. It would be strange if this were true of Wren himself. Although he shared the scientific interests of his day, he was the heir of the High Church tradition of the early seventeenth century. His father was the royalist Dean of Windsor; and in St. George's Chapel, especially in the services of the Order of the Garter, the English liturgy was at its most dignified and impressive. His uncle, Bishop Matthew Wren, was one of the most zealous of the Laudian bishops, whose visitation articles and injunctions and the defence which he made at his impeachment in 1641 are an important source of information on Laudian ecclesiology. His uncle too was one of the first to give him employment as an architect. The family tradition of churchmanship was not likely to produce an architect who thought of churches only as sermon houses.

An examination of the letter shows that there is good reason for thinking that Wren, while stressing, and very rightly too, the importance of having buildings where sermons were audible, wished a great deal more than sermons to be heard in his churches. He points out that in buildings belonging to the Church of Rome there need be no restriction as to size; for it is enough 'if they hear the murmur of the Mass and see the Elevation of the Host'. In the Church of England we are confronted with the problem of how to make a building in which everyone can not only see but hear; and Wren quite explicitly says that the congregation must be able to hear not only the sermon but the service as well. This necessitates a certain limitation in the size of churches; and he enunciates a principle that

a minister cannot be heard in a church which is so large that it holds more than two thousand people. Wren, in fact, built churches in which the congregation could follow the liturgy as well as the sermon; and he realized that the Anglican ideal of everyone taking



Plan 10

ST. JAMES'S, PICCADILLY, London. *Built 1684. This church probably embodies Sir Christopher Wren's views on the internal arrangements of a town parish church more than any others of his design. The plans show (a) the seating and the three-decker as it existed in the early eighteenth century, and (b) the arrangement as in 1825. They provide a good record of the change in taste in these matters within a period of about a century. The altar and rails seem to have remained unchanged; the altar-piece, the work of Grinling Gibbons, and the marble and wrought-iron rails are famous.*

part in the service meant smallish churches with galleries, so as to bring a large number of people within the range of the minister's voice. 'I can hardly think it practicable', he says, 'to make a single room so spacious, with pews and galleries, as to hold above 2,000

persons, and all to hear the service, and both to hear distinctly, and see the preacher.'[1] Wren also believed that St. James's, Piccadilly, (Plan 10), which is in plan an aisled rectangle with galleries on three sides, best illustrated his principles; it was beautiful as well as convenient, and the cheapest of any form he could invent.

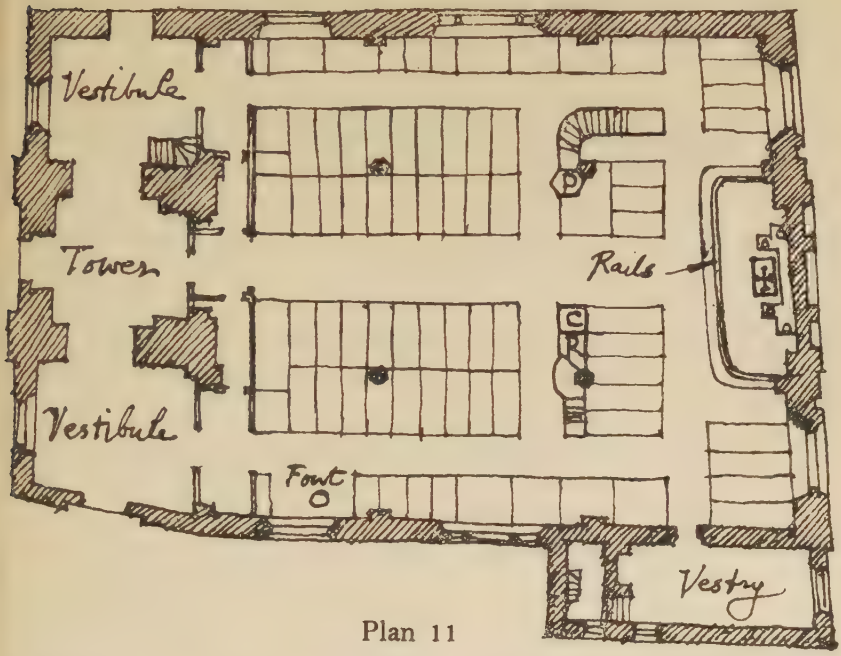
It is unjust to accuse Wren of depreciating the altar. For St. Paul's he planned a sumptuous altar with a ciborium resembling that in St. Peter's, Rome. When talking of materials for decorating churches, he only allows marble in altar pieces, as it is too costly for use elsewhere. To-day in a Wren church the pulpit is often the most conspicuous object. But then none of Wren's London churches have come down to us with their original internal arrangements intact, with the possible exception of St. Mary-at-Hill (Plan 11).[2] In a Wren church the pulpit was designed to raise the preacher above the high pews; the reading pew and clerk's pew which stood below the pulpit but on a higher level than the pews for the congregation, prevented it from appearing too lofty. To-day the reading pew and clerk's pew have generally been removed and the other pews cut down or modern seating put in their place, with the result that the pulpit stands out in a lonely and exaggerated isolation which it was never intended to enjoy. Much money and thought went to the furnishing of Wren churches with altars, communion rails and altar pieces. But they do not dominate the whole church and were not put up with that intention. They are only fully and properly seen by the communicants when they draw near and kneel round the altar. In the explanation of this fact lies the key to a right understanding of the way in which Wren and his successors planned their churches.

Although they almost entirely dispensed with a screen and built churches which were a single room, yet not till the end of the eighteenth century was there much attempt to break away from what had become the classic Anglican conception of a church, as a building with three parts, one for christenings, one for the offices and the

[1] *Parentalia*, p. 320. The text of the relevant passages in the letter will be found in Appendix II.

[2] Much of the woodwork here was restored by the early Victorian wood-carver, William Gibbs Rogers, who worked in the tradition of Grinling Gibbons and his school. The pulpit and reading pew are his work, but they appear to be in their original positions, and the pews have not been rearranged so as to enable stalls for a surpliced choir to be placed in front of the altar.

sermon, and one for the communion. Wren churches may have architectural affinities with the baroque buildings of the Continent, but their planning is quite different. A baroque church was built with one centre, the altar, though the Counter-Reformation clergy did not disdain an elaborate and striking pulpit from which to



Plan 11

ST. MARY-AT-HILL, London. *Built* 1670–6. *Although many of the fittings are comparatively modern, having been inserted in* 1848–9 *to the designs of William Gibbs Rogers, these seem to follow so closely the original scheme that they show clearly the typical pattern of liturgical arrangements in the late seventeenth century. Note the placing of the font and its seat.*

preach their great sermons. The worshipper notices the altar from the moment he enters the church; it draws him on and as he goes up the church he sees it in ever-increasing splendour. A Wren or an eighteenth-century church has no one centre; it is a well-proportioned room, conveying a sense of balance and repose, like the

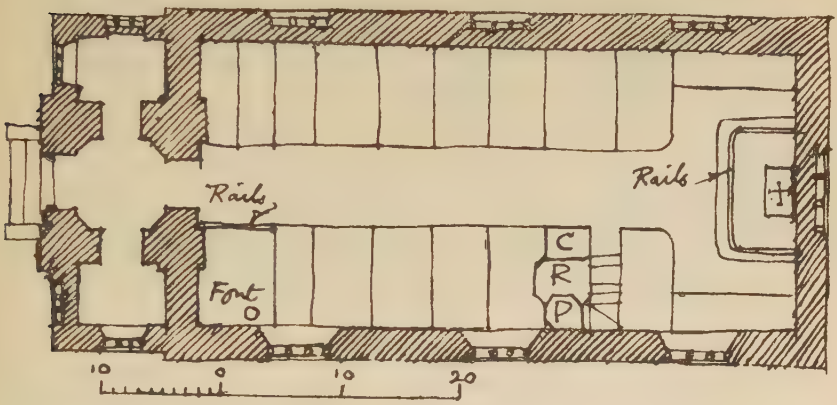
churches of the Italian Renaissance. In its arrangement the medieval conception of a church still rules; but instead of well-defined places for the various services, there are three liturgical centres in an ascending scale of importance. By the door is the font, beyond the font are the pulpit and reading pew, and only then does the worshipper obtain a full view of the altar; he is only allowed to become conscious of it when he has passed through what the Prayer Book regards as preparatory to the Eucharist, Baptism, the offices, the sermon.

In many auditory churches the chancel as a separate room or structural entity may be non-existent; but there is still a part round the altar, often unfortunately much too small, where communicants can kneel from the Offertory onwards. Usually it is called the altar place or part, or in the North of England the altar-stead. In the vestry minutes of Wren churches the part near the altar still retains the old name and is called the chancel. It was frequently distinguished from the rest of the building by a low screen of carved lattice work, which was placed along the back of the block of pews standing between the reading pew and the east wall. In some churches there is no lattice work, but the pews near the east end are higher than those of the rest of the church. Occasionally there is no attempt at all to distinguish between the two parts. It is possible that the reasons for marking the distinction were legal as much as liturgical. The lattice work on the higher pews marked the boundary of the chancel, for the upkeep of which the rector was in some cases responsible.[1] The pews at the east end were not always used for communicants; in the vestry minutes of St. Mary, Abchurch, for 1690 there is an entry of a grant to Sir Patience Ward of two pews 'next adjoining south end of altar-piece', and he and his family would have used those pews for the ordinary Sunday service.[2]

In auditory churches outside London, there is usually no attempt to distinguish between the office and Communion part. A few have ample empty floor space between the reading desk and the altar rails;[3] but usually the pews go right up to the east end (cf. Plan 12).

[1] *Trans. Brist. and Glos. Arch. Soc.*, xxi, p. 120.
[2] *Wren Society*, xix, pp. 30–1.
[3] E.g., Cartmel Fell, Lancashire (Plan 27) and Disserth, Radnorshire, both medieval buildings refurnished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and St. Swithun's Worcester, 1736; all are good examples of an auditory type of church with three liturgical centres.

At King's Norton in Leicestershire (Plan 13), which was built in 1770, the office part of the church culminates in a three-storeyed pulpit, standing in the middle of the nave between the easternmost row of pews. On each side of the pulpit is a low gate marking the distinction between the office and Communion part of the church. In the Communion part there is plenty of space for communicants to kneel near the rails, though along the sides are seats arranged college chapel-wise, which were occupied by the gentry.

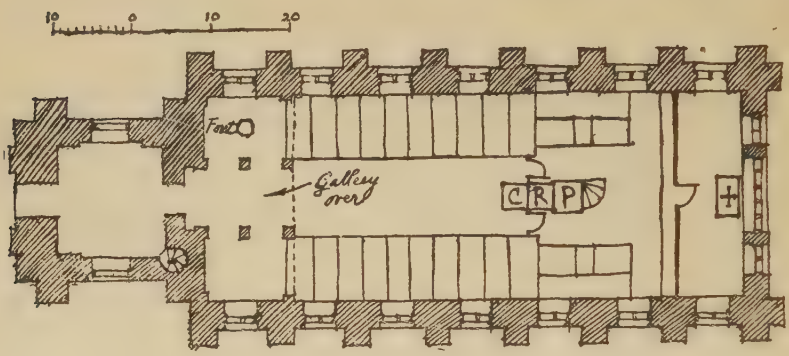


Plan 12

BALLYMAKENNY, Co. Louth, Ireland. *Built c. 1785 under Francis Johnston as architect. An excellent example of a small auditory church. The font is no longer in the building.*

The auditory churches of the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries have often been criticized on the ground that they are mean and uninspiring in appearance and unworthy of Christian worship. This is a criticism which to a great extent is unjustified. In the church at Avington in Hampshire, a good example of an eighteenth-century auditory church in its original state, is a memorial tablet to Margaret, Marchioness of Carnarvon, who gave the money for the building. She is described as 'religious without enthusiasm, generous without profusion'; but there is nothing cold about the church, nor does expense seem to have been

spared; both the fabric and furniture are the work of first-rate craftsmen; and there is about it an air of dignity and peace which suits the services of the Prayer Book. Perhaps the finest existing auditory church is the one which we have already mentioned at King's Norton in Leicestershire, though it is very little known. The church is an eighteenth-century Gothic building, but there is



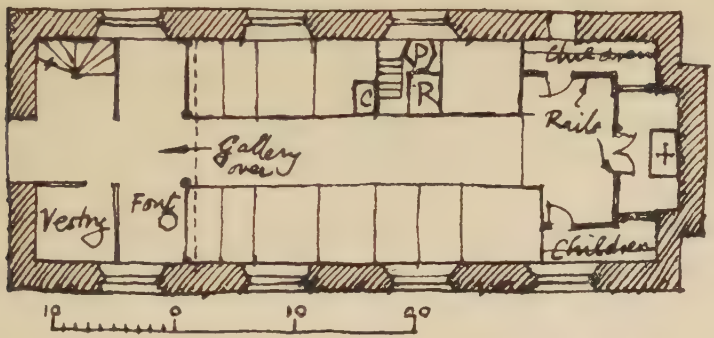
Plan 13

KING'S NORTON, Leicestershire. *Built* 1760–75. *A notable example of a country auditory church with the three-decker set in front of the altar. Note the small gates on each side of the pulpit which carry on the traditional separation of chancel from nave. The woodwork throughout is fine and massive, and the windows are filled with leaded glass of an unusual pattern of tall narrow quarries.*

nothing flimsy or gimcrack about it. Outside is a dignified flight of steps leading up to the west door, of the kind one might expect to find in a church of the same period in Northern Portugal. Inside, the fine fluted columns supporting the west gallery, the light that pours through the enormous windows with their rococo Gothic tracery, and the austere, restrained air of the brown oak fittings, all combine to make the building a perfect expression of eighteenth-century Anglicanism, its lucidity, its classical view of life, its freedom from cant and humbug, its objectivity.[1]

[1] Another untouched auditory church is Chislehampton, Oxfordshire, 1763 (Plan 14). Two Irish examples should be noted, the Middle Church of Ballinderry, Co. Antrim, 1668; Ballymakeny, Co. Louth, c. 1785 (Plan 12). The Middle Church at Ballinderry

There are certain other features in the planning of the auditory churches of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which deserve to be noticed. The narthex is revived in the form of an entrance hall or vestibule, which not only helps to keep out draughts, but provides a convenient place for leaving coats and wraps and talking before and after the service. The vestries are spacious and comfortable, with plenty of room for cupboards. The windows are filled normally with clear glass, making the churches lightsome, to use a favourite adjective of the period.[1] On the whole



Plan 14

CHISLEHAMPTON OR CHISELHAMPTON, Oxfordshire. *Built* 1763. *A very complete and largely unaltered example of a small eighteenth-century village church. Note the convenient placing of the font, with an empty space opposite where a christening party might stand. The large square pew on the south side was the squire's, with his household staff opposite. The original altar-piece remains. The rails are returned westwards on either side, with seats for children behind, but it is just possible that they may have been used for communicants also at times.*

---

is the only church connected with Jeremy Taylor, which has survived almost unaltered. It was begun under his initiative in 1664, but not consecrated till 1668, the year of his death. Medieval churches, which had no structural chancel and had lost their chancel screen, were arranged as auditory churches with three liturgical centres. The best surviving example of this arrangement applied to a medieval town church is Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York; a good example of a country church so arranged is St. Mary-le-Gill, Barnoldswick, Yorkshire (Plan 25). Aisleless medieval country churches lent themselves ot this arrangement and good examples can be seen at Besselsleigh, Berkshire; Cartmel Fell, Lancashire (Plan 27); Withersdale, Suffolk; Disserth, Radnorshire

[1] Windows were often hung with curtains, like the crimson ones which, till recently, were to be seen in the chapel of Chelsea Hospital (*Wren Society*, xix, p. 74).

the eighteenth century believed that light churches showed an absence of superstition, and witnessed to the Church's escape from what Warburton called the benighted days of monkish owl-light. The width of the churches in comparison with their length ensures that nobody is seated too far from the officiating minister; this is particularly the case with the round[1] or elliptical[2] churches, with which eighteenth-century architects occasionally experimented. The use of ceilings instead of open roofs makes for audibility; the auditory churches which have escaped the attentions of the Victorian or modern restorer are almost perfect places in which to read the service. It was of such a church in Virginia that Bishop Meade wrote in 1838: 'Peculiarly delightful it was to raise the voice in a house whose sacred form and beautiful arches seemed to give force and music to the feeblest tongue beyond any other building in which I ever performed or heard the hallowed services of the sanctuary.'[3]

The history of English parish churches between 1559 and 1841, whether they were built on the medieval or auditory plan, is a witness to the influence which the medieval conception of a church and to a lesser extent medieval architecture continued to exercise over people's minds. Gothic methods and details of building continued unbroken through the period of the Reformation down to the end of the seventeenth century. Between the Reformation and the Gothic revival there was a continuous interest in medieval buildings; at times it may have been slight and confined to tombs—for the eighteenth century loved tombs and delighted in what was called 'sepulchral pride'—but it was always there. The Gothic buildings of the seventeenth century have been dismissed by medievalists as debased; but these churches which are so despised are a witness to the power of medievalism; they were not built in conscious imitation of the past but because the men who built them knew no other style; they were medievalists unconsciously by nature and training. Only a few years separate the genuine and natural building of Gothic churches in out of the way parts of England or Wales, and

[1] E.g., St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, 1792.

[2] E.g., All Saints', Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1789 (Plan 40); St. Andrew's, Dublin, 1798–1807 (Plan 39).

[3] R. A. Lancaster, *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches* (1915), p. 319. The church in question is Christ Church, Lancaster County, built in 1732. It is the only eighteenth-century church in Virginia which remains in its original state.

the delight in Gothic of Horace Walpole and his friends with their taste for arches, perspectives and holy gloom.

The influence of medievalism was even more apparent in the arrangement of churches. Screens were retained, so that the churches still fell into self-contained parts; and new churches were often built on the same plan. The medieval tradition showed itself even in the auditory churches of Wren and his successors. They may indeed have been rooms planned to bring the congregation within hearing distance of the parish priest when he preaches and reads the service from the three-storyed pulpit; and here the Church was following in the steps of the friars who built naves as great preaching houses, but using them for something which was not contemplated by the friars, the taking of the liturgy to the people. The font was still at one end of the building, and the altar at the other, in many cases divided as effectively from the rest of the church by the pulpit and reading pew as it was by the screen. But great as was the power of medievalism, it did not dominate the arrangement of churches to the detriment of the real purpose for which they existed. When at the Reformation it was found that the medieval plan conflicted to some extent with the demands of the Prayer Book, the plan was still retained, but in a modified form to meet the needs of congregational worship. Only at the end of the period did the medieval plan disappear, when auditory churches with three liturgical centres were found to put difficulties in the way of Eucharistic worship, difficulties which will be explained in Chapter VI, and it became fashionable to build churches with the font, reading pew, and pulpit combined in one group with the altar, round which the seating was arranged. But, important though it was and still may be, this plan of church was never very widely adopted, and right down to the eighteen-thirties auditory churches with three liturgical centres continued to be built.[1] For the ecclesiologist the chief characteristic of the period between 1559 and 1841 is the power of tradition and the distaste for revolution.

[1] E.g., such well-known London churches as St. Marylebone, 1818, and St. Pancras, 1822. For these churches as originally arranged, see J. Britton and A. Pugin, *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* (1825), i, pp. 166, 178.

Chapter III

THE NAVE

1. The Font

The nave with its whitewashed walls—for the period, like St. Wilfrid, believed in washing the walls of its churches and making them whiter than snow[1]—was the place for baptisms and the usual Sunday services. By the door stood the font. Canon LXXXI of 1604 ordered 'that there shall be a font of stone in every church and chapel where baptism is to be ministered; the same to be set up in the ancient usual places'; and episcopal visitation articles in the seventeenth century frequently ask if the Canon is obeyed. According to Bishop Richard Montague the font was to be near the church door in order 'to signify our entrance into God's church by baptism';[2] and to prevent it being moved elsewhere the bishops insisted that it should be of stone. But however beautiful from a symbolic point of view a font at the west end might be, it was not always very convenient, especially if baptisms took place after the second lesson at Mattins or Evensong. In a church of any size the congregation were unable to see what was happening at the font, a difficulty which is not unknown to-day in parishes where the practice of baptizing at Evensong has been revived. The Reformed churches, both in Scotland and on the Continent, were in favour either of a portable font which could be

[1] Cf. *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave (1927), p. 34, where describing the decoration which St. Wilfrid lavished on his cathedral at York, it says: '*Parietes quoque lavans, secundum prophetam super nivem dealbavit*'.

[2] *Ritual Report*, p. 580b.

Plate III

Interior of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, from a Rowlandson and Pugin aquatint published by R. Ackermann, 1809. The arrangements generally seem to agree with those shown in Plan 36, of 1825, but the altar rails are not the same. Note the unusual placing of the Royal Arms on the ceiling immediately west of the sanctuary arch.

attached to the pulpit when it was needed, or of one set permanently near the pulpit or altar. The Puritans were in favour of moving the font up the church away from the west end, so that baptisms might take place in the sight of the whole congregation; and in Durham Cathedral in the early part of the seventeenth century the font stood in the choir, till Cosin persuaded the chapter to move it back to its traditional place.

Fonts at the west end often looked isolated and neglected; and a desire to pay equal honour to both sacraments of the Gospel led some people to think that the part of the church near the altar, was the most suitable place too for the font. There is a passage illustrating this outlook in a sermon which was preached in Durham Cathedral one Sunday in the July of 1628 by Peter Smart, Cosin's opponent on the chapter. Smart contrasts Cosin's seemingly contemptuous relegation of the font to the west end with his devotion to the altar, though the font represents 'as honourable, and a more necessary sacrament'; and he goes on to say: 'The Lord's table therefore and the font they are altars both alike, as an apple and an egg are onions both alike; that is neither of them properly and truly, though they have a kind of resemblance: and being both alike and of equal worthiness, why are they so far put asunder the whole length of the church, one at the head, the other at the foot? Why are they not set in the body of the church or choir, being the fittest place to receive the greatest assemblies and most communicants?'[1]

The Presbyterian divines at the Savoy Conference in 1661 raised the same point and asked that the font might be placed where all the congregation could best see and hear the service. The bishops replied: 'The font usually stands, as it did in primitive times, at or near the church door, to signify that baptism was the entrance into the Church mystical; "we are all baptized into one body" (1 Cor. xii, 13); and the people may hear well enough.' They were, however, willing to agree that if in any particular church the people could not hear the service when the font was by the door, it might with the ordinary's permission be set in a more convenient place;[2] and the rubrics in the baptism service in the 1662 Prayer Book by

[1] Peter Smart, *A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, July 7, 1628* (1628), pp. 15, 16.

[2] Cardwell, *A History of Conferences*, pp. 324, 355, 363.

saying nothing whatever about the position of the font, seem to leave the matter open. Whether or not as a result of the ordinary's permission, it was not uncommon in the eighteenth century for a font to be moved up the nave and set directly in front of the reading pew, so that baptisms could have a congregational character.[1]

The desire which was voiced by Smart to show equal honour to both the sacraments of the Gospel, resulted in many places in the font being placed near the altar (cf. Plans 44, 45, 48, and 50), and the Communion place becoming a christening place as well.[2] Sometimes there was no permanent font, a silver bason being placed on the altar for the occasion. In St. George's, Hanover Square, the font used to be kept under the altar; the bason was in a carved oak frame about a foot high, which ran on castors; and so could be pulled out easily when wanted. It is said to have looked like a wine-cooler.[3] But interesting though these alternative places for the font may be, as showing that churchmen did not feel obliged to obey Canon LXXXI when the west end of the church was unsuitable on grounds of convenience or reverence, they were never more than exceptional. Usually the Canon was faithfully obeyed, and the font stood by the door in its traditional place, reminding all who entered that baptism is the gateway into the church.

Importance was attached to giving the font due emphasis and dignity when it was set in the traditional place. The usual means

[1] The font still stands directly under the three-storeyed pulpit at Minstead, Hampshire; and it occupied this position in such well-known eighteenth-century churches as St. Peter's, Congleton, Cheshire, 1742; Tetbury, Gloucestershire, 1777–81; St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, 1792. There is a pen drawing of the interior of Congleton Church as it was in 1825, which is now kept in the vestry; it shows the font in front of the three-storeyed pulpit and a baptism taking place. In none of these churches is the font still in this position. Stapleford, Leicestershire, built in 1788, has its seats arranged like those of a cathedral choir; in the central alley half-way between the east and west end is a socket in the floor into which a font, kept in the vestry, is screwed when there is a baptism.

[2] E.g., as at Great Washbourne, Gloucestershire, where the font still stands in the chancel in front of the altar. In Redland Church, Bristol, 1743, the font, one of Thomas Paty's finest works, stood on one side of the altar within the communion rails, and on the other side to balance it was a sham font of the same design.

[3] *Ecclesiologist*, ii, p. 141. The practice of baptizing from a bason set on the altar was common in Ireland. The visitation book of the diocese of Armagh for 1826 has entries to the effect that in the parish churches of Mansfieldtown and Dromiskin, Co. Louth, there was no font, but baptisms took place at the altar (J. B. Leslie, *History of Kilsaran Union of Parishes* (Dundalk), 1908, pp. 160, 215). Cf. *Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Ant. Soc.*, liv, p. 162, for examples of the same practice in Cheshire; and Wickham Legg, *English Church Life*, p. 166, and E. J. G. Forse, *Ceremonial Curiosities*, pp. 6–8, for examples of the font being placed in the chancel in Roman Catholic churches on the Continent. Lutherans also place the font in the chancel.

was what was called 'a comely cover', which also served the additional purpose of keeping the bason clean. Cosin, for instance, both in Durham Cathedral and the church at Brancepeth of which he was rector, put up tall font covers of a late medieval pattern.[1] Towards the end of the seventeenth century, font covers, often called types, tended to become flatter, but they were still handsomely carved. Not only the City of London, but York too is particularly rich in good examples of these late covers. Emphasis was given to post-Restoration fonts by carving on the bason and stem, such as the figures of Adam and Eve on the font stems in St. James's, Piccadilly, and St. Margaret's Lothbury.[2]

On the principle that there should be different parts of the church for different services, special provision was often made for the christening party near the font (cf. Plan 12). In Brancepeth Church is a plan showing an allotment of pews made by Cosin and his churchwardens in 1639; certain pews at the west end are marked for use at baptisms. Frequently the font was placed in the middle of a square pew; it was known as a christening pew, and seats were provided for the christening party along the sides.[3] Rails were used to mark off the special place for baptisms. In the accounts of the rebuilding of St. Andrew's, Holborn, after the Great Fire, there is an entry: 'For rails and balisters for the Christening Pew £10 and bench in the same £2 10s.'[4] In many cases there can only have been room for the officiating minister within the rails, and the christening party must have knelt round them outside.

Cosin's font cover in Durham Cathedral is not strictly a font

[1] On the top of the Brancepeth cover is perched a flying angel. Other tall font covers of this period are to be seen at Astbury, Cheshire; Billingham, and St. Cuthbert's, Darlington, Co. Durham; Terrington St. Clement's, Norfolk. The inside of this last has paintings of Our Lord's baptism and temptation.

[2] Occasionally the efforts of the period to produce a comely setting for the font were not successful. At Llanfyllin, Montgomeryshire, the font was kept under the table which the chancellor of the diocese used for his visitations, part of the top being lifted up for baptisms. (*Montgomeryshire Collections*, iii, p. 72.)

[3] Examples of christening pews can be seen at King's Norton, Leicestershire (Plan 13); Little Stanmore, Middlesex; Chislehampton, Oxfordshire (Plan 14); Halston Chapel, Shropshire (Plan 44); Whitby Parish Church; St. Swithun's, Worcester.

[4] *Wren Society*, x, p. 102; cf. xix, p. 19. The church of St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street, still has its original font rails. In J. P. Neale and J. Le Keux, *Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain* (1824), i, is an engraving of the font at St. Nicholas's, North Walsham, with seventeenth-century octagonal rails round it. In the description accompanying the engraving is a reference to the rubric in the *rituale* ordering the font to be '*cancellis circumseptum*'. In vol. ii of the same work is an engraving of the font in St. Gregory's, Sudbury; it is on a platform and has a low partition round it.

cover at all, but a canopy covering not only the font but the surrounding space, which is large enough for an ordinary sized christening party.[1] Something of the same arrangement may have existed in the Chapel Royal in the time of James I. In the account of the baptism of the Princess Mary in 1605, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Dean of the Chapel Royal are both mentioned as standing vested in copes with the godparents 'under the cell compassing the font'.[2]

In a large medieval parish church a transept (cf. Plan 22) or choir aisle was sometimes utilized as a place for the font, forming almost a separate baptistry. The north transept in St. Mary Redcliffe was turned into a special place for baptisms in 1755; the font, the work of Thomas Paty, was enclosed with mahogany rails, and the space inside the rails paved with marble. No expense was spared; the font cost about a hundred and nineteen pounds, and the joiner's bill came to between fifty and fifty-one pounds.[3] When the present church of All Saints', Newcastle-on-Tyne, was built in 1789, the font was placed in a separate room, leading off the vestibule (Plan 40). The room was fitted with pews and a reading desk as it was also used for daily prayers and funerals. The font stood in a recess at one end, separated from the rest of the chapel by rails, which in the middle formed a semicircle. In niches round the recess were placed statues, which were described as 'allegorical representations of life, and of the Christian virtues, Justice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Faith, Hope and Charity'.[4]

2. *The Reading Pew and Pulpit*

After the font the next object of liturgical significance in the nave was the reading pew, either opposite the pulpit or on the same side. It has already been pointed out that the Elizabethan bishops

[1] Luton Parish Church and Trunch, Norfolk, have medieval examples of such canopies.

[2] *The Old Cheque Book, or Book of Remembrance, of the Chapel Royal*, ed. by E. F. Rimbault (Camden Society, 1872), p. 168.

[3] E. E. Williams, *St. Mary Redcliffe* (1931), p. 27.

[4] T. Sopwith, *A Historical and Descriptive Account of All Saints' Church in Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (1826), p. 99. The room is now the Sacrament Chapel, and the recess with the beautiful rails serves as a sanctuary. Cf. *Arch. Ael.*, 4th Series, x, p. 184, xix, p. 145, for plans showing similar christening places in the north transept of St. Nicholas's, now the cathedral, and in the Trinity chapel in St. Andrew's, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

used the power allowed them in the rubric before Mattins to assign a place in the nave from which the offices were to be read;[1] and Elizabethan visitation articles usually speak of it as 'a convenient place' or 'a convenient seat'; the churchwardens' accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1586, call it a 'lector pulpit'.[2] The bishops usually emphasize the importance of the place being one from which the minister may be heard.[3] The reading pew received synodical authority in Canon LXXXII of 1604, where it is ordered 'that a convenient seat be made for the minister to read service in'.

Speaking generally, the whole Sunday morning service throughout this period was taken from the reading pew and pulpit, except on Communion Sundays. The Prayer Book intends that the Sunday morning service should consist of Morning Prayer, the Litany and the Eucharist; but there is to be no celebration 'except there be a convenient number to communicate with the Priest, according to his discretion', and a further rubric orders that there is to be no celebration unless there are at least three communicants besides the priest. The Prayer Book attempts to ensure that there shall be a weekly celebration in cathedrals, collegiate churches and college chapels by ordering that all the clergy on the foundation are to receive Communion every Sunday. But in parish churches if there are not enough communicants to permit of a celebration, the Sunday morning service is not to conclude with the Litany. On Sundays and Holy Days when there is no celebration, the rubric orders the Communion Office to be said as far as the end of the Prayer for the Church Militant, and then to be concluded with one or more of the collects, which are printed at the end of the office, and the Blessing. This service usually goes by the name of Ante-Communion, Altar Prayers, or Table Prayers; it is an Anglican *Missa Sicca* or *Missa Catechumenorum*.[4]

In a letter from Richard Montague to Cosin is a description of the service which Montague's curate had one Christmas morning, probably in 1624. Gossip reached Cosin that the curate had shortened the service, and Montague wrote to tell him that it was not

[1] v.s.p. 31

[2] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England* (1797), p. 21.

[3] Cf. Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, iii, p. 340, for a good instance of this.

[4] Another name both for this service and also for the complete Eucharist was the Second Service.

true. 'The service,' he says, 'was begun and ended according to the book,—not, a prayer, a psalm, a sermon—but, the preceding sentences (two of them), the Confession, Absolution, *Pater*, *Gloria*, *Venite*, proper psalms, the 1 lesson, Te Deum song—not indeed with organs, for we have none—the second lesson, *Benedictus*, Creed, etc.; then the second service, with Epistle, and Gospel, a psalm, a short sermon, a long communion.'[1] Such was the service on a major festival. But in parish churches during this period celebrations varied from one a month to one a quarter; there was not one at all on most Sundays. At the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century a weekly celebration was quite common; but it was confined to churches in London and a few other large towns, and some cathedrals. This meant that in most parish churches the Sunday morning service consisted of Mattins, the Litany and Altar Prayers, with the sermon after the Nicene Creed. If there was a Baptism it came after the second lesson, and women were churched just before Altar Prayers. A bidding prayer was added before the sermon; on the Sunday preceding a Communion Sunday the first of the long exhortations in the Communion service was read after the sermon, and the people were told how to prepare to receive Communion and of their parish priest's readiness to hear their confessions if they so desired.[2] The psalms were said, but the *Te Deum* was often sung; there would be a metrical psalm or hymn or sometimes an anthem after the third collect or after the Litany as a kind of Introit, or before or after the sermon.[3]

It is commonly supposed that loyalty to the Prayer Book rubrics means that the priest reads the prayers at Mattins and Evensong from a stall in the chancel, the lessons in the nave facing the people,

[1] *Surtees Society*, lii, p. 55.

[2] Liturgists like Cosin, Comber, Wheatly, emphasize the importance of reading this exhortation. John Overall, Bishop of Norwich, in his visitation articles of 1619 asked particularly if it was read, so that any parishioner whose conscience was troubled and disquieted might resort to his own or some other worthy minister and open his grief, 'that he may receive such ghostly counsel and comfort, as his conscience may be relieved, and by the Minister he may receive the benefit of absolution, to the quiet of his conscience and avoiding of scruple' (*Ritual Report*, p. 483a). In the 1634 Canons of the Church of Ireland (No. XIX) the minister of every parish and some principal minister in every cathedral or collegiate church is ordered to have the bell tolled the afternoon before the administration of the Sacrament, 'to the intent, that if any have scruple of conscience, or desire the special ministry of reconciliation, he may afford it to those that need it'. (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, p. 501.)

[3] Many clergy had the bad habit of concluding the service with the sermon, and not saying the Prayer for the Church.

the Litany at a special desk in the central alley, and Altar Prayers at the altar. But throughout this period it was very rare for the prayers to be said from a seat in the chancel; the minister's usual place, both for the prayers as well as the lessons, was the reading pew in the nave. Cosin, indeed, writing before the Restoration, thought this was only legal when the minister could not be heard from a stall in the chancel and the ordinary had given permission for his seat to be moved into the nave; he also thought that the ordinary had power to give this permission only when there was a dispute amongst the parishioners as to which was the best place in the church for the minister's seat.[1] Similar views were expressed by Cosin's son-in-law, Dr. Denis Granville, Dean of Durham.[2] But neither of these divines acted in accordance with this opinion. When Cosin refurnished his church at Brancepeth before the Civil War, he placed the reading pew in the nave. After the Restoration Granville was rector of Sedgefield in Co. Durham, and a pew plan dated 1662, which is preserved in the vestry (Plan 24), shows the minister's seat also in the nave. Wheatly argued that the practice of having a reading pew in the nave had become so general by the Restoration that the rubric in the Prayer Book of 1662 ordering Mattins and Evensong to be said 'in the accustomed place' referred to the reading pew in the nave and not to a priest's stall in the chancel.[3]

In a few churches prayers continued to be read from the chancel. In 1756 Bishop Pococke noticed during one of his travels that in the church at Clynnog Fawr in Carnarvonshire the reading desk was inside the screen and that the minister came out to an elevated seat in the body of the church to read the lessons.[4] At Wimborne Minster, which was a collegiate church, the reader of the office was placed in the chancel, and he read the exhortation, psalms and lessons through an opening especially cut in the chancel screen, facing the congregation.[5]

[1] Cosin, *Works*, v, pp. 227–8.
[2] For Granville's view, see *Surtees Society*, xlvii, p. 176.
[3] *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, ch. ii, 5.
[4] *The Travels Through England of Dr. Richard Pococke* (Camden Society, 1889), ii, p. 175.
[5] J. M. Neale, *The History of Pews* (ed. 1843), p. 39. At Monk Silverton, Somerset, the minister's seat was in the chancel; but he read the lessons facing the people from a wooden eagle attached to the east face of the screen. Winterbourne Tomson, Dorset, which still retains the furniture put in by Archbishop Wake when he restored the church in 1734, has the reading pew in the chancel; and the pew is so made that the minister stands facing the people, framed in one of the openings in the chancel screen.

The lessons as well as the prayers were read from the reading pew in the nave. Separate lecterns for reading the lessons, though the rule in cathedrals and college chapels, were seldom found in parish churches; a noted exception is the brass eagle lectern which was given to St. Mary Redcliffe in 1638, and stood in the central alley of the nave.[1] Nor were litany desks at all common except in the diocese of Durham after the Restoration, where they were ordered by Cosin;[2] the Litany too being generally read from the reading pew, though sometimes the minister may have knelt for it before the altar or chancel gates. Litany desks were usual in cathedrals, and were made large enough to take two minor canons or lay chanters who sang it together. When Lord Torrington attended the morning service in Lincoln Cathedral on St. Peter's Day, 1791, he noticed that the Litany was chanted in the middle alley by two lay vicars with voices like bulls.[3]

The rubric in the Prayer Book which orders Altar Prayers to be said on Sundays and Holy Days when there is no Communion, makes no mention of where the service is to be read. The Laudian divines maintained that the Prayer Book intended the rubric at the beginning of the Communion service to be followed, which reads 'the Priest standing at the north side of the Table shall say the Lord's Prayer'. Altar Prayers were to be taken at the altar in exactly the same way as the full Eucharist. The Puritans disliked the practice, and in a large church the congregation experienced some difficulty in hearing a priest when he was standing at an altar placed at the end of a long chancel. At the Savoy Conference the

[1] In some churches the top of the medieval lectern was embodied in the reading desk and used for the Bible. At Little Gidding, Huntingdonshire, a brass lectern was placed by the reading desk.

[2] *Ritual Report*, p. 601a. Cosin evidently liked litany desks; as Archdeacon of the East Riding he asks in some visitation articles of 1627 whether there is in each church 'a little faldstool, or desk, with some decent carpet over it, in the middle alley of the church, whereat the Litany may be said (*Works*, ii, p. 4). After the Restoration they are mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Giles's, St. Nicholas's, and St. Oswald's, Durham, and of Houghton-le-Spring (*Surtees Society*, l, p. 428; lxxxiv, pp. 200, 219, 332; xcv, p. 188). There was one at Bledlow, Buckinghamshire, in 1783 (*Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.*, v, p. 247). Desks of this type are not infrequently pictured in frontispieces to Prayer Books and devotional books of the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

[3] *The Torrington Diaries*, ed. by C. Bruyn Andrews, ii, p. 346. Cf. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. 1817), ii, pp. 135, 513, for engravings of the choirs of Christ Church, Oxford, and Exeter Cathedral, showing litany desks with books for two chanters. Durham Cathedral still has a double litany desk given by Cosin. Litany desks had either a cloth or cushion; in cathedrals they stood in the choir, in parish churches in the central alley of the nave.

Presbyterian divines asked that only the parts which properly belonged to the Communion might be read at the altar, meaning the part of the Eucharist from the Invitation to the Blessing.[1] But though the bishops refused their request, it had become almost universal by the eighteenth century for Altar Prayers in a parish church, even on Sundays when the Sacrament was administered, to be read from the reading pew; on Sacrament Sundays the minister went to the altar at the Offertory.

Great importance was attached to the inclusion of Altar Prayers in the Church's morning liturgy for Sundays and Holy Days. It reminded people that in the intention of the Church the liturgy for these days is to culminate in the full Eucharist provided there are enough communicants. It was also considered a matter of obligation that the faithful should hear the commandments, the Epistle, and the Gospel read in a liturgical setting; that they should recite the Nicene Creed; and that in the Offertory and the Prayer for the Church Militant, they should be moved to charitable acts and prayers on behalf of their fellow members in the Body of Christ.[2] The Laudian divines believed that on Sundays Mattins should be early in the morning and that an interval should elapse before Altar Prayers or the Eucharist, what Cosin used to call the High Service.[3] But in most parish churches, especially after the Restoration, Mattins, Litany and Altar Prayers were read together at one service, though in some London churches at the beginning of the eighteenth century there was an early Mattins or an early Communion besides the usual Sunday morning service.

This Sunday morning service, all of it taken from the reading

[1] Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 307, 342. Archbishop Grindal in his Injunctions for the Province of York in 1571 ordered the Commandments, the Epistle and the Gospel to be read from the reading pew when there was no Communion. Instead of going back to the altar for the rest of the service, many clergy must have found it more convenient to take the whole of the Altar Prayers from there. (Frere, op. cit., iii, pp. 282–3.)

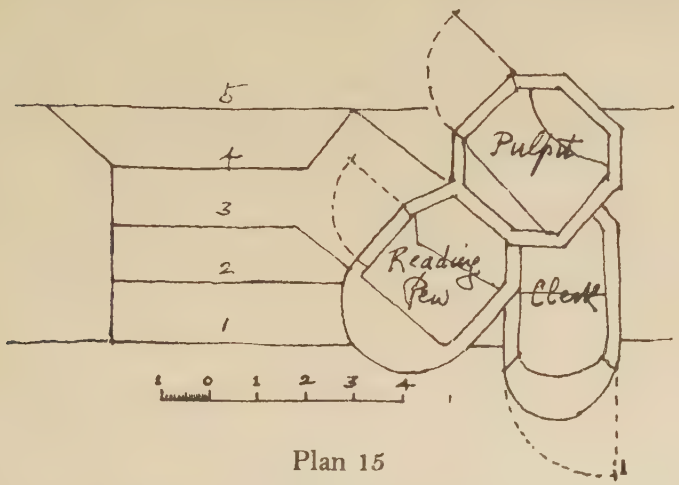
[2] Wheatly, op. cit., ch. vi, 30. John Howson, Bishop of Oxford, in his visitation articles of 1619, asks: 'Whether is the whole service or Common Prayer, read in your church —— in such order as is set down in the Book of the Common Prayer beginning at the Confession, Absolution, the Psalms, and Chapters appointed for the days, the hymns, of Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, and Nunc Dimittis, the Creed, the Versicles, the whole Litany, the Prayers for the King, the Prince, the Bishops, the ten Commandments, the Epistle and Gospel' (*Ritual Report*, p. 477a). In the 1559 Prayer Book the State Prayers were printed at the end of the Litany, and not under Morning and Evening Prayer as in 1662. Cf. 3 Haggard, *Ecclesiastical*, p. 33 for a judgement of Sir John Nicholl in the case of *Bennet v. Bonaker* which came before the Court of Arches in 1830, in which importance is attached to the faithful hearing regularly the Litany, and the Commandments, Epistle and Gospel from the Communion service.

[3] *Works*, v, p. 84.

pew, moved slowly and leisurely through the reading of the prayers, the lessons, the psalms, and canticles, and on Sacrament Sundays found its climax in the Eucharist; and on other Sundays always pointing to the Eucharist as the climax of the liturgy. Ceremonial and singing were rigidly controlled so that the words of the liturgy might be allowed to make their proper effect unhindered. To those who were capable of digesting it, such a service resulted in a quiet, solid, enduring piety; but it needed a certain setting. The kind of laity who were able to profit from such a service were people like Dr. Johnson, who believed that Sunday should be a day given not only to church going but also to meditation and self-examination, and to the reading of the Bible and of practical and speculative divinity; they came to church spiritually prepared for a liturgical service, which made great demands on them, spiritually, mentally, and physically. The better parish priests instructed their people in the meaning of the Prayer Book services; and the people themselves were encouraged to make use of devotional books which drew out the meaning of the liturgy. The service depended much on the way it was read. Taking a Sunday morning service in this period meant a great deal of preparation, and a very careful, devout study of each part of the service, so as to bring out its full meaning in relation to the whole. A good parish priest would devote Saturday to studying the proper lessons and the Epistle and Gospel with the aid of a commentary. It is no wonder that George Herbert advised the country parson to be up betimes on Sunday mornings and to offer special prayers for God's blessing on what he was going to do during the day. The clergy were encouraged to pay attention to their reading; in some visitation articles which Bishop Fleetwood of St. Asaph issued in 1710 is the following passage: 'The minister, in the public service, is, as it were, the mouth of the congregation. His voice is to reach the ears, and to direct the hearts of all his audience, to their proper object, at that time; and I will venture to affirm, that much of their devotion will depend upon the way and manner of his uttering forth his prayers and praises. The psalms, and hymns, and chapters, are clearly other things when read distinctly and devoutly, from what they are when read in haste and unattentively.'[1]

[1] *Ritual Report*, p. 664b. For the whole passage see Appendix III.

When it is realized that on most Sunday mornings the whole service was taken from the reading desk, it is easier to understand the position it occupied in the body of the church; it had to be in the place from which the priest could best be heard. The desk either stood alone, sometimes with the clerk's seat in front, or else it was combined with the pulpit and clerk's seat to form one piece of furniture. When the reading pew and pulpit were combined, the whole structure became a two-storeyed pulpit; and when the clerk's seat was added a three-storeyed pulpit, or what was usually nicknamed a



Plan 15

HAREFIELD, Middlesex. *The three-decker, of a lively and original pattern, dates from the eighteenth century. The altar, reredos, chairs, and rails of this church, which were put together from elaborate Flemish renaissance carved woodwork and inserted c. 1840, are well known.*

three-decker.[1] Three-storeyed pulpits can be roughly classified into two types. In the first the reading pew and pulpit proper were placed side by side, with the clerk's seat in front of the reading pew; and the pulpit was entered by steps from the reading pew.[2]

[1] Two-storeyed pulpits can be seen in Halston Chapel, Shropshire (Plan 44); St. Ninian's, Brougham, Westmorland (Plan 5).

[2] Examples of this type can be seen at Parracombe, Devonshire (Plan 28); Kedington, Suffolk (Plan 16); Coxwold, Yorkshire. A variant of this arrangement was to place the reading pew and clerk's pew side by side with the pulpit behind as at Lockington, Leicestershire.

In the second, and judging from the pulpits that remain the commoner type, the clerk's seat, the reading pew, and the pulpit were placed one below the other with the pulpit at the top. Each had a separate door which was reached by a stairway running up the side.[1]

When the reading pew was a separate piece of furniture, it stood either to one side of the screen or chancel arch, or if it was in an auditory building, against the first pillar or in a corresponding position against the wall west of the altar. Opposite the reading pew would be the pulpit. George Herbert set the fashion of making both reading pew and pulpit the same height and size. In describing his restoration of the church of Leighton Bromswold in Huntingdonshire (Plan 17; cf. also Plan 4), Isaac Walton says: 'By his order, the reading pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height; for, he would often say, They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation.'[2]

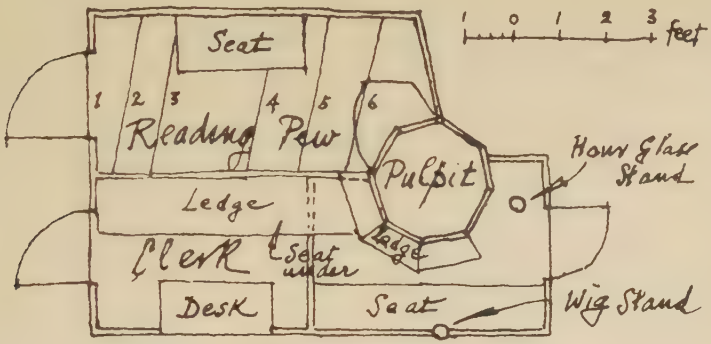
When a three-storeyed pulpit was used it was placed towards the middle of the nave against either one of the pillars, or the north or south wall. In a small church it would be at one side of the chancel arch. But from the Restoration onwards it became increasingly common to place the three-storeyed pulpit in the middle alley in front of the chancel gates, or in an auditory church in front of the altar, so that the minister and clerk had their backs to the altar for the whole service. Although the pulpit stood directly in front of the altar it is a misunderstanding of the ecclesiological outlook of the time to suppose that it was placed here either out of contempt for the altar, or in order to exalt preaching at the expense of Sacrament; in any case the three-storeyed pulpit was something more than a pulpit, it was the place from which a great part of the liturgy was read. The nave was looked on so much as a room quite separate from the chancel that it seemed natural to arrange it with reference to the services for which it was used without taking the altar into

[1] Examples of this type are still comparatively common. Two exceptionally fine ones are in St. Olaf's, Waterford, and Gibside Chapel, Co. Durham (Plan 35; cf. also Plan 18).

[2] The reading pew and pulpit are still in their original position at Leighton Bromswold; and George Herbert's arrangement can also be seen at Haughton-le-Skerne, Co. Durham, c. 1662; Wolverton, Hampshire, 1717; Mildenhall, Wiltshire, c. 1816; Kilbixy, Co. West Meath, 1798. In St. Mary-at-Hill (Plan 11) the reading pew and pulpit also stand each side of the middle alley; but here the reading pew is lower.

consideration; and the habit persisted in the arrangement of auditory churches. Once the nave is regarded as a self-contained unit, it is obvious that the congregation, especially those at the back of the nave and transepts, will hear and see the priest better if he occupies a central position in the middle alley.[1]

The position of the minister, when taking a service, was the subject of much discussion at the Savoy Conference. The Presbyterians maintained that it was most convenient for the minister to



Plan 16

KEDINGTON, Suffolk. *The three-decker was inserted c.* 1610, *and is set against the first pillar westwards from the chancel arch on the south side. This early type has the pulpit and reading pew side by side, with the clerk's seat in front. Note the hour-glass and wig stand.*

turn to the people in the Communion; and the bishops in their reply enunciated the following principle: 'The minister's turning to the people is not most convenient throughout the whole ministration. When he speaks to them, as in Lessons, Absolution, and Benedictions, it is most convenient that he turn to them. When he speaks for them to God, it is fit that they should all turn another way, as the ancient church ever did; the reasons of which you may see Aug.

[1] King's Norton, Leicestershire (Plan 13), still has a three-storeyed pulpit in front of the altar, v.s.p. 60. In St. Peter's, Congleton, Cheshire, the pulpit with a modern lectern is in front of the altar, taking the place of the three-storeyed pulpit which stood here till 1877. In St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle, is a massive Victorian pulpit which runs on rails and is worked by a wheel and wire cable; it is kept in the north aisle in front of the organ, and is moved out in front of the chancel steps for the sermon.

Lib. 2. de Ser. Dom. in monte.'[1] The passage from Book II of the *De Sermone Domini in Monte* to which the Presbyterians are referred is presumably Chapter V, which is concerned with the reasons why Christians turn to the east in prayer. The bishops mean that the minister should only face west towards the people when he is addressing them; when he is praying to God on their behalf it is fitting that both he and the congregation should face towards the east end. The principle was enunciated in a discussion about the position of the celebrant at the Eucharist; but it has usually been supposed that the bishops were thinking not only of the Eucharist but of the offices as well; if this is correct, judging from the reading pews that remain the principle was not at all widely observed in parish churches.

The large majority of reading pews had one wide desk, on which was placed a Prayer Book and Bible, and from which the minister read both the prayers and lessons facing the congregation. The reading pew in Langley Chapel (Plan 29), the earliest one still in existence, is so made that the minister must face his flock for both the prayers and lessons, and it is the same with George Herbert's reading pew at Leighton Bromswold (Plan 17). In some three-storeyed pulpits in smaller churches the reading pew had two desks, at right angles to each other; one facing north or south, at which the minister read the prayers, the other facing west, at which he read the lessons.[2] In some smaller churches where the three-storeyed pulpit was against the north or south wall, the reading desk had only one desk facing towards the opposite side.[3] In this case the minister was placed sideways to his people for the lessons as well as the prayers, unless he turned towards the people and read from a Bible in his hands. It was only in these two kinds of reading pew that there was any attempt to carry out the principle enunciated by the bishops at the Savoy Conference, and then only by standing or kneeling sideways to the people for the prayers.

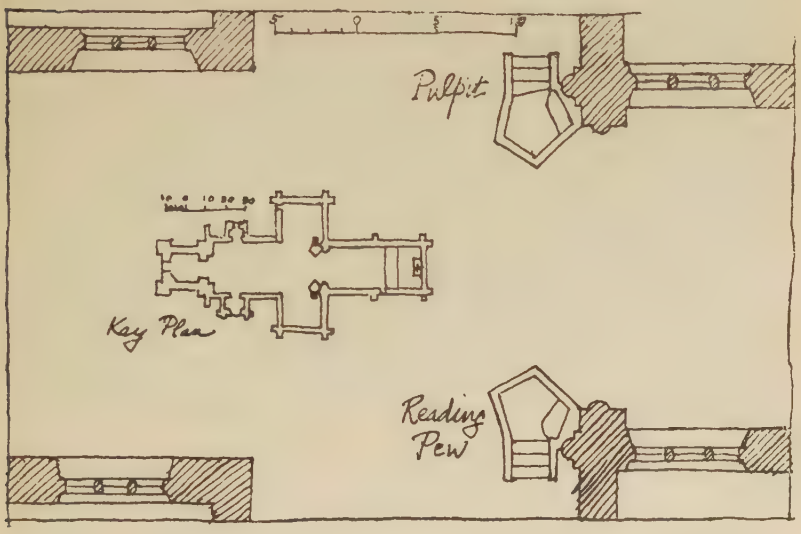
Three-storeyed pulpits were fitted with every convenience necessary for the conduct of the services. Pulpit, reading pew and clerk's

[1] Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 320, 353.

[2] Avington, Hampshire; St. Clodock and Monnington-on-Wye, Herefordshire; Wickhamford, Worcestershire; St. Swithun's, Worcester, have this type of desk.

[3] E.g., the three-storeyed pulpits at Foremark, Derbyshire (Plan 6), Cartmel Fell, Lancashire (Plan 27); Gislingham, Withersdale, Suffolk.

pew, each had a seat and a wide desk for books; the desk in the reading pew being wide enough to take a folio Prayer Book and Bible. The desks in each part of the pulpit were covered either with a large cushion with tassels or a valance known as a desk or pulpit



Plan 17

LEIGHTON BROMSWOLD, Huntingdonshire. *The church was 're-edified' and refurnished under the direction of George Herbert from 1627 onwards. Amongst other fittings and wainscoting, he inserted the pulpit and reading pew shown; they are of equal height and were the occasion of his famous remark that 'they should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation'. Similar 'twin ambos' have been inserted in several churches in recent years.*

cloth or with a combination of both of these; it was usual to spend much money on these pulpit hangings and to be liberal in the use of materials so that they had a very dignified appearance.[1] When

[1] According to the notes of Archdeacon Bonney (*Bonney's Church Notes*, ed. by N. S. Harding (Lincoln, 1937)), on the churches of the Archdeaconry of Lincoln made between 1845 and 1848 three-storeyed pulpits were often painted; white was the usual

there was a curate, he generally read the service from the reading desk; while the incumbent not only preached from the pulpit but occupied it all through the service as a kind of official seat; sometimes he might sit with his family in the rectory pew and only enter the pulpit for the sermon. Candlesticks were attached to the desks; pulpits had an hour-glass, and at Kedington (Plan 16) there is a stand for the parson's wig. At the back of the pulpit would be a wooden peg for the black gown which the parson used for preaching. The clerk's seat might have a music stand, since in parishes where there were no official singers he led the singing himself, giving the note with a pitch-pipe; and attached to the pulpit might be a psalm board.[1]

Room was often found in the three-storeyed pulpit for the parson's family; at Ravenstonedale in Westmorland (Plan 46) they occupied a seat on the top storey just behind the pulpit; at Whitby (Plan 18) the bottom storey is the vicarage pew. The same thing happened with episcopal thrones in cathedrals; they housed not only the bishop but his family as well. When Cosimo III, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, paid a visit to Exeter in 1669 he was much struck by seeing part of the bishop's throne occupied by the bishop's wife and their nine children.[2] Before Raphoe Cathedral was restored in the last century the episcopal throne, which was also the episcopal family pew, was large enough out of service time to house a Sunday school class and even a harmonium.[3]

There is much to be said both on aesthetic and liturgical grounds for a pulpit with three storeys; and it does not compare unfavourably with what has perhaps been the more popular arrangement of the reading pew and pulpit facing each other from opposite sides of

---

colour. Hangings were generally in crimson; but purple, blue, and red were quite popular. In two churches they were puce;.and in one, Gunby-by-Burgh, white edged with pink. The pulpit in Bellingham Church, Northumberland, in 1843, was 'of oak painted white', cf. *A History of Northumberland*, ed. by M. Hope Dodds, xv, p. 228. Petersham, Surrey, still has the three-storeyed pulpit and pews, painted white.

[1] Beauchief Abbey, Sheffield (Plan 37) has an eighteenth-century psalm board, attached to the stairs in the three-storeyed pulpit. The board measures one foot by two feet and is painted green. On one side are spaces for the number and verse of the psalm with a cherub's head painted at the top; on the other side are the Pegge-Burnell arms with a box at the bottom for holding the numbers. At the back of the seventeenth-century pulpit at Matterdale, Cumberland, is a massive peg for the black gown.

[2] M. E. C. Walcot, *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals* (1872), p. 44. A similar bishop's throne once stood in Carlisle Cathedral.

[3] T. M. Fallow, *The Cathedral Churches of Ireland*, p. 18.

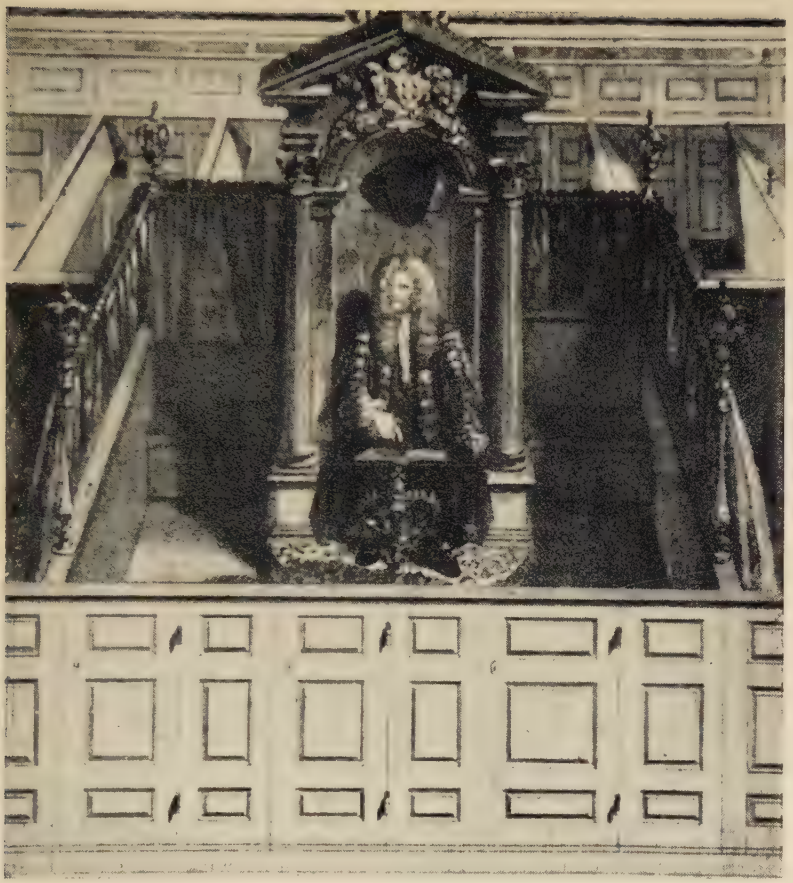
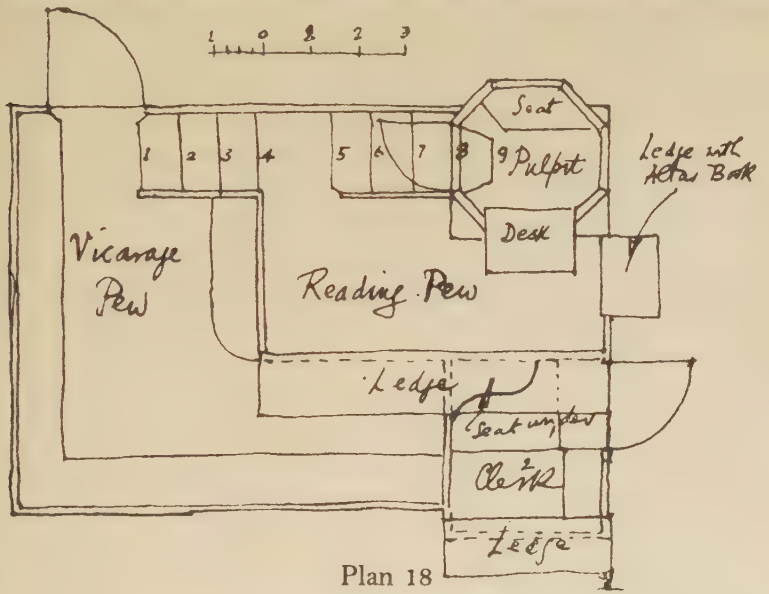


Plate IV

THE SPEAKER IN HIS PEW, from the frontispiece to T. Wilson, *The Ornaments of Churches Considered* (*1761*). The Speaker of the House of Commons, Arthur Onslow, is shown in the Speaker's pew in St. Margaret's, Westminster. Note the curtains round the top of the pew to protect its occupant from draughts (see p. 87).

the chancel arch. A well-made pulpit of this type with its canopy or sounding board, sometimes surmounted with an angel blowing a trumpet[1] or a pelican[2] in her piety, provided one dignified central feature in the nave. The modern practice of a separate lectern, litany desk and pulpit means that each detracts from the other; the nave has no one object of special significance, only a number of obtrusive and distracting pieces of furniture. The combination of lectern and prayer desk in a reading pew shows that the lessons are not isolated



Plan 18

WHITBY, Yorkshire. *The post-Reformation fittings of this church, including the screen and loft, are well known. The plan shows the three-decker of 1778 and the vicarage pew, which may be of early nineteenth-century work. All this was moved to its present position in 1847.*

passages from scripture, but a part of the liturgy and must be understood against the background of the liturgy; the Bible is placed in a liturgical setting. When the reading pew adjoins the pulpit, the sermon is given more of a liturgical setting, and appears as something which is part of the liturgy and to which it must be subordinated.

[1] E.g., as at Molland, Devonshire. [2] E.g., as at St. Swithun's, Worcester.

Both the reading pew and three-storeyed pulpit may be considered as English forms of the ambo, which in basilican and Byzantine churches was used for the lessons, the litanies and some of the prayers in the Eucharist; the giving out of notices and preaching; as a standing-place for singers; and even as a platform for coronations. Ambos can still be seen facing each other like an English pulpit and reading pew across the nave in Italian and Spanish churches. From the ambo on the south side the Epistle used to be sung by the sub-deacon; and from the ambo on the north the Gospel by the deacon, and attending him in the ambo were the sub-deacon, the thurifer and the two acolytes. The practice of using ambos for this purpose largely died out in the nineteenth century, but it is still kept up in some places in Spain.[1] The similarity between the ambos in St. Mark's, Venice, and Torcello Cathedral, and an English two- or three-storeyed pulpit has often been noticed. The ambo at Torcello has two pulpits, one facing the south for the Epistle, and one a few steps higher facing west for the Gospel. This ambo is very like an English reading pew with the clerk's pew beneath it, especially when it is remembered that the clerk sometimes read the first lesson and the Epistle and that he read them from his seat, while from the next storey the priest read the second lesson and the Gospel. The custom of reading Altar Prayers from the reading pew was only an extension and development of the contemporary Continental practice of singing the Epistle and Gospel from the ambos and could well be justified on the ground that it made for congregational worship.

It is unlikely that the Elizabethan bishops had the ambo in mind when they introduced the reading pew into our churches; to them it was just another pulpit which could be used for reading the service.[2] But Joseph Bingham, the great ecclesiastical historian who

[1] Benjamin Webb, *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology* (1848), pp. 204, 355; Forse, *Ceremonial Curiosities*, p. 46.

[2] It is interesting, however, to compare the constitutions which St. Carlo Borromeo made for the Province of Milan, ordering ambos to be set up in every church for the Epistle and Gospel, with the questions about the reading pew and pulpit in the visitation articles of such divines as Andrewes and Cosin. They are so alike that it is just possible that the English bishops borrowed their directions about the reading pew from the Milanese constitutions, especially as Archbishop Bancroft is thought to have made use of them in drawing up the canons of 1604. St. Carlo Borromeo orders every church to have either two ambos, in which case the Epistle one is to be lower than the Gospel one, or a single ambo with storeys. Space under the ambo was to be provided for singers, as was sometimes done in England in connection with the pulpit. (*Constitutiones, et Decreta Sex Provincialium Synodorum Mediolanensium* (Brescia 1603), p. 460.)

adorned the Church of England in the reign of Anne, recognized that the reading pew, or reading desk as he calls it, of the Church of England corresponded to the ambo. 'The ambo itself', he says, 'was what we now call the reading desk, a place made on purpose for the readers and singers, and such of the clergy as ministered in the first service, called *missa catechumenorum*.'[1] He does not deal with the position which the ambo occupied; but in some diagrams which he gives of early Christian buildings it is placed on the central axis of the church in front of the middle gates of the iconostasis.

The Church of England not only had good catholic authority for placing a pulpit and reading desk each side of the chancel arch or a three-storeyed pulpit to one side of the nave; even the three-storeyed pulpit in front of the chancel gates or altar could claim to be following the example of no less a building than Sancta Sophia, where the great ambo was placed on the central axis of the church, though some way from the iconostasis. In the ninth-century plan of the Abbey of St. Gall an ambo is shown in the central alley in front of the entrance into the eastern choir, and round it are the words: 'Hic evangelicae recitatur lectio pacis.'

The ambo in Sancta Sophia was the subject of a poem in Greek iambics by Paul the Silentiary, who wrote in what Gibbon calls 'dark and poetic language'. It must have been a lofty structure; for the poem calls it a tower, and it was large enough to be the scene of imperial coronations. The ambo itself stood on eight columns, with a staircase leading up to it on the east and west sides; it was surmounted by a cupola. Round the base of the ambo was a circular enclosure, forming a space for singers. The ambo is described as the place to which the people direct their eyes as they gaze on the divine gospel.[2] England has yet to produce a poet who will sing the

[1] *Works* (Oxford, 1855), iii, p. 66. Cf. Beveridge, *Συνοδικὸν sive Pandectae* (Oxford, 1672), ii, Annotationes, pp. 71-7, for a diagram and lengthy description of a fourth-century church. On the diagram the ambo is placed on the central axis of the church, but nearer the doors of the narthex than those of the bema. Speaking of the position of the ambo Beveridge quotes the fifteenth-century Byzantine ecclesiologist, Simeon of Thessalonica (Migne, *P.G.*, clv, pp. 345, 708), to the effect that it should stand directly in front of the bema. The words used by Beveridge are '*altari directe oppositum esse*'.

[2] Migne, *P.G.*, lxxxvi, 2, pp. 2238–40. W. R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (1894), pp. 53–65. The stage put up between the choir and the high altar in Westminster Abbey in the Middle Ages for coronations is said to be a remote derivation from the ambo in Sancta Sophia. The stage was also called the 'pulpitum', 'scaffold' or 'high place'; it stood on pillars and had a canopy, and stairs leading up to it on the east and west sides. (W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the Antiquities of the Coronation* (1911), pp. 29–33.)

dignity of the reading pew and three-storeyed pulpit, which the Parliamentary soldiers in the Civil War called 'a calves coope', and the Victorian ritualists compared to a tub or an auctioneer's rostrum.

3. *The Churching Pew*

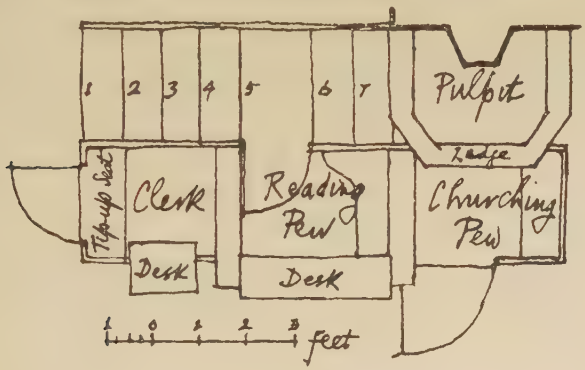
The principle of different parts of the church for different services was extended to providing a special place for churchings. In the 1559 Prayer Book the woman is ordered to kneel down 'in some convenient place nigh unto the place where the table standeth'. The place is near the altar in case she wishes to make her Communion afterwards, and also for the presentation of the accustomed offering. When James I's queen, Anne of Denmark, was churched on Whitsunday 1605, she made her offering at the altar.[1] But the place for churchings was not always near the altar. Montague in his visitation article for the diocese of Norwich in 1638 asks whether the minister churches women 'in his pew or reading seat, using the words of the service in general, as if he intended it to all in the church? or doth he descend only unto her seat in the church, and there perform it? or doth he not (as he ought to do) go up into the chancel, the woman also repairing thither, kneeling before the communion table at the steps or rail?'[2] From this it seems clear that there was a practice of churching women in the nave which Montague wanted to stop. It probably originated from churchings being usually taken during the Sunday morning service; in churches where Altar Prayers as well as Mattins were read from the reading pew, clergy found it more convenient to take churchings from here too; especially as at the altar the service would be invisible to most of the congregation. When this happened, a special place for the woman to kneel was provided in the nave, commonly known as the churching pew or the childwife pew (cf. Plans 19 and 24).[3]

At the Savoy Conference, the Presbyterian divines, who were

[1] *Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal*, p. 170. [2] *Ritual Report*, p. 583b.

[3] Samuel Harsnet, Bishop of Norwich, in some visitation articles of 1620, asks whether there is 'a seat for the women that come to give thanks after their childbirth' (*Ritual Report*, p. 487a). Cf. J. C. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 194, for an expenditure in the accounts of the parish of Cundall, Yorkshire, in 1634, of twenty-six shillings and eightpence for a 'childwife pew'. From an entry in the churchwardens' account of St. Mary's, Dover, for 1538–9, quoted by Cox on the same page, it appears that churching pews were known before the Reformation.

much in favour of churching women in the nave, asked that the words in the rubric 'nigh unto the place where the table standeth' might be omitted and the minister allowed to church from either the desk or the pulpit; the reason they gave being that in many churches it was inconvenient to church a woman kneeling near the altar. The bishops replied: 'It is fit that the woman performing especial service of thanksgiving should have a special place for it, where she may be perspicuous to the whole congregation, and near



Plan 19

ROMALDKIRK, Yorkshire. *The component parts of this interesting three-decker, with its churching pew, dating from 1728, were dismembered in 1926 and only the pulpit now remains in position. The remaining fragments are unhappily stored at the back of the church. There were originally crimson velvet hangings.*

the holy table, in regard to the offering she is there to make.'[1] The bishops, however, went some way to meet the wishes of the Presbyterians. In the 1662 Prayer Book the rubric was altered, and the woman ordered to kneel 'in some convenient place, as hath been accustomed, or as the Ordinary shall direct.'

Churching pews continued to be put up after the Restoration, presumably with the knowledge of the ordinary.[2] At the back of the

[1] Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 334, 362.

[2] In the pew plan preserved in Sedgefield Church, Co. Durham, and dated 1662, v.i.p., 94. what is marked as a midwife's pew is shown just below the reading desk (Plan 24). A churching pew was often called a midwife's pew, since it was customary for the latter to accompany the woman to church.

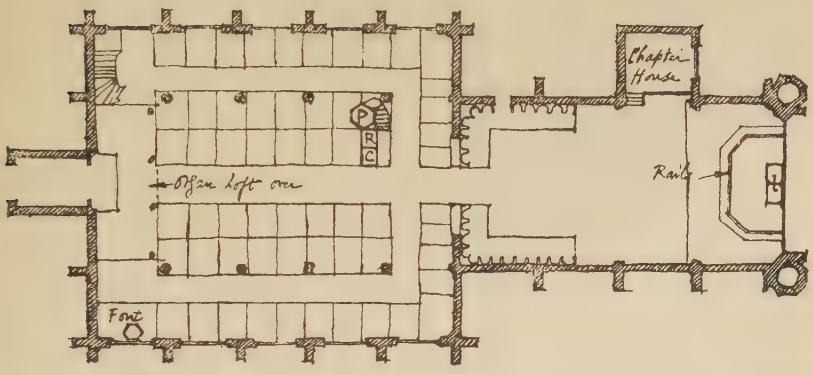
church at Romaldkirk in Teesdale (Plan 19) are the remains of what was once a three-storeyed pulpit with a churching pew attached. It was put up in 1728, and in the last page of the oldest burial register is a list of those who contributed to what is described as 'the pulpit, reading desk, sounding board, the Clerk's and Women's pew, and also the font cover'. Up till 1926 the three-storeyed pulpit stood against the south side of the chancel arch; behind was the pulpit proper and in front was the reading pew, flanked on the north by the clerk's seat and on the south by the churching pew.[1] The woman knelt in the pew to be churched, and the minister read the service from his desk. The churching pew is like a huge box, and must have made a churching a very terrifying experience for the chief person concerned; it has not been used within living memory.

4. *The Pews*

Round the pulpit and reading desk were arranged the pews; they were of two kinds, the ordinary straight ones such as are usual to-day, and small rectangular enclosures with a seat on three of the sides and an opening on the fourth; these are known as square pews, and the occupants sat and knelt facing each other. Both kinds of pews had doors; the sides and backs were high, generally between four and five feet, so that only the heads of the occupants appeared over the top. At one time it was usual to say that high pews were introduced into churches by the Puritans who, hidden inside them, were able to avoid such liturgical gestures as bowing at the Gloria and the name of Jesus, or turning east for the Gospel and Creed. But high pews continued in use long after the Church had ceased to do more than recommend these gestures or Puritanism to be a living force. The Puritans may have preferred high pews for the shelter which they gave from prying Laudians; but their real continuance was due to the inadequate heating arrangements in the churches; they protected the parishioners from draughts. For instance, in 1616 a faculty was issued to a parishioner of Haverstock in Essex to erect a pew in the church and to make it high with wainscot or board in order 'to break and keep off the wind that

[1] For an illustration of the pulpit and churching pew in their original position, see K. Shalcross Dickinson, *History of the Church and Parish of Romaldkirk* (Middleton-in-Teesdale, 1936), p. 70.

cometh out of the chancel'.[1] To increase the protection from draughts, rails with curtains were placed along the tops of the pews of the well-to-do. People do not seem to have minded the high pews; they were supposed to encourage recollection by making it impossible for the congregation to look about during the service. They also prevented the congregation from seeing the altar at all



Plan 20

ST. KATHARINE'S HOSPITAL, London. *This was a medieval building standing where the present St. Katharine's Docks now are. It was pulled down in 1827 and rebuilt in the Gothic of the period on a new site just east of Regent's Park, though some monuments and much of the medieval furniture were transferred to the new building and are still there. The plan shows the arrangements as in 1779 and should be compared with those of Burneston, Plan No. 3. Note that in the chancel the old stalls are retained, probably for the use of communicants; in the nave the pews are grouped round the three-decker, and the organ stood in a loft at the west end.*

easily; but then very little of the altar had been seen by medieval congregations, and apart from the Laudian school it was only at the end of the eighteenth century that any desire to see the altar at times other than at the actual Communion began to develop amongst

[1] Alfred Heales, *The History and Law of Church Seats* (1872), i, p. 171. High pews were usual in this period in France and Germany, both in Roman and Lutheran churches (ibid., pp. 184–6; Forse, *Ceremonial Curiosities*, pp. 5–6; Webb, *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology*, pp. 38, 42). For the curtains see Plate IV.

churchmen (cf. Plan 22). But high pews though general were not by any means universal; in the seventeenth century churches were often fitted with low open seating and even settles.[1] In the churches of Wren and the eighteenth-century architects the pews played an integral part in the design of the interior, so much so that when they have been cut down much of the beauty of the church has disappeared too.[2] In some churches pews were painted; white was the usual colour.[3] The pews themselves gave an air of dignity to the church; they were usually well made and their straight and simple lines compare very favourably with the fussy, jagged outlines of many modern and medieval ones; the existence of doors also helps to preserve a continuity of line.

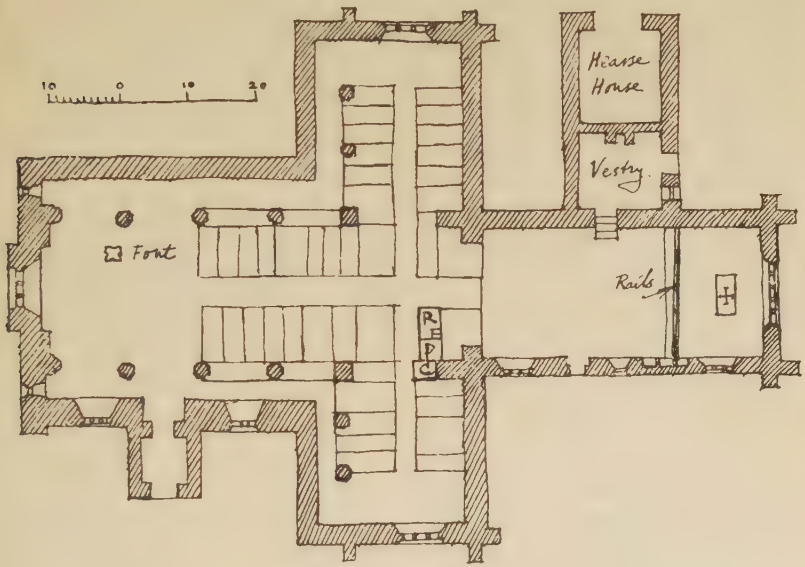
The pews were usually arranged so that the occupants faced in the direction of the reading desk and pulpit, and not the altar (cf. Plans 20 and 21); the seats in the aisles often faced towards the nave; and if the three-storeyed pulpit was some way down the nave, the seats between it and the chancel faced west. Of course, with square pews there were always some people who had their backs to the pulpit; but there was often an attempt to set them with their openings towards the pulpit so that the occupants could more or less face the minister. The result was that pews ran in all directions, and the body of the church was full of odd corners and alleys (cf. Plans 34 and 42). Generally speaking, the period found nothing disturbing in the way in which a good number of the congregation sat with their backs towards the altar; in fact, according to the ecclesiology of the period it was eminently reasonable. The part of the church where Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany and Altar Prayers were said, was planned with reference to the convenience of the congregation in hearing the minister and joining in the service. Only at the Eucharist was it considered neces-

[1] Good examples of this seventeenth-century open seating can be seen at Egglescliffe, Co. Durham; Barham, Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire; Burneston, Yorkshire (Plan 3). Monnington-on-Wye, Herefordshire, has late seventeenth-century settles. Settles are common in Spanish churches.

[2] It is a mistake to suppose that pews must always be cut down to be adapted to modern needs. A better expedient, and one that preserves the original appearance of the church, is to raise the floor and seating inside them, though this can only be done to a limited extent.

[3] E.g., the white-painted pews at Shobdon, Herefordshire (Plan 45); Petersham, Surrey. At Alstonfield, Staffordshire, the Cotton pew, 1637, was painted its present 'duck-egg blue' in the early nineteenth century. The appearance of pitch-pine seats can often be much improved by painting.

sary to be in full view of the altar. The Church has always had to exercise a certain degree of common sense about reverence to the altar. Christians do not walk backwards out of church, and many of the congregation have their backs to the altar at a baptism. The position of the choir stalls in cathedral and monastic churches shows that it has never been considered essential to face the altar at least for the offices.



Plan 21

ELSDON, Northumberland. *A medieval fabric with later additions of porch, vestry, and hearse house. The church was repewed in 1837. Note the concentration of the pews round the pulpit, reading pew, and clerk's pew, and the large open space at the west end. The chancel is kept empty for Communion services, and the altar, set on a simple pavement, is several feet away from the east wall, an excellent arrangement in many ways.*

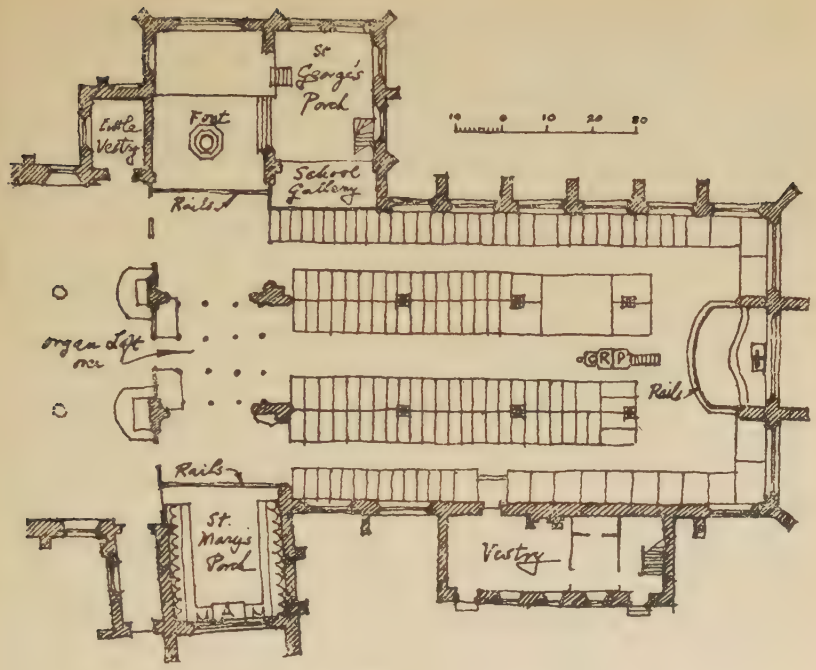
The Laudian bishops tried to get rid of this method of seating; their sense of uniformity was offended by the way the pews ran in all directions and their sense of reverence by the distractions caused by high pews, especially when people faced each other. They realized

the beauty of open space and wanted as few pews as was conveniently possible. The Laudian ideal was a nave filled with straight pews, of a uniform height of about three feet, all facing towards the east end.[1] But judging from the examples of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pewing that remain, it was mainly in the churches of Wren and some of the eighteenth-century architects that there was much attempt to put the Laudian principles into practice. Wren himself would have liked to have got rid of pews altogether and to have had benches with wide alleys in between. Churchmen as a whole, however, did not share these ideas; they preferred the warmth and shelter from draughts given by the high pews.

Each parishioner was supposed to have a seat allotted to him by the churchwardens according to his rank and position. By common right, as the lawyers say, the actual disposal of seats in a church belongs to the ordinary; and the churchwardens acted in virtue of a commission from the chancellor of the diocese; in a few instances the right belongs to the churchwardens by immemorial custom. In many cases the men sat on one side, the women on the other, and were grouped according to their ages and rank; the older and more well-to-do people sat in the front and the younger ones behind; the pew occupied by the young women of the parish was often called the maidens' pew.[2] Otherwise the parishioners were seated by families; and each family in their square pew forcibly expressed the fact that the family is the basis of all Church life. There was much to be said for the system; by giving each parishioner a particular seat, it brought a feeling of community into the Sunday worship, and everyone felt they had a place in the church. Unfortunately in many places, especially in towns, this was not the case. Pews along with church rates were the mainstay of parochial finance. Parishioners paid rent for them; parts of a church were sold or let to people who built their own pews; and large family pews took up much valuable space. When new churches were built, pews were put up to auction, and as long as the buyers resided in the parish the pews were their freehold, and they could sell them when they

[1] A good summary of the Laudian policy towards pews will be found in Bishop Matthew Wren's answer to the charges brought against him when he was impeached in 1641, see *Parentalia*, pp. 77–8.

[2] See Maude F. Davies, *Life in an English Village* (1909), pp. 295–8, for an ordering of seats in this way at Corsley, Wiltshire, in 1635.

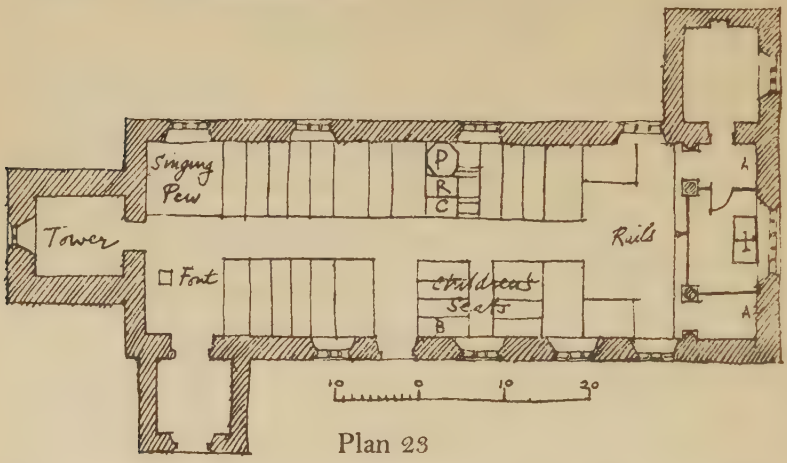


Plan 22

ST. NICHOLAS'S, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, Northumberland. *A medieval building now the cathedral. The plan shows the choir as refitted in 1785. Up to that time the nave was used for all services other than the Communion service, the chancel with its stalls being reserved for this. In 1798 the three-decker was placed in front of the altar as shown, and the font, which previously occupied its traditional place at the west end, was moved to the north transept. The chancel stalls were remodelled and placed in the south transept to form a Morning Chapel and, as was usual at the time, no altar was provided here; the seat marked A was the reading pew. These radical alterations changed the character of the building from that of a large town parish church to that of a pseudo-cathedral or collegiate building, with the important exception that the seats in the chancel (apart from the square pews) were arranged to face east. The original screen and loft, with organ over, dated from 1676, but the 1785 alterations provided a capacious organ loft or pulpitum supported on numerous pillars, not altogether unlike the original arrangement at St. Paul's Cathedral. All this work has since been removed.*

moved. The temptation to use most of the available space in a church for pews which were a source of income was too much for churchwardens; with the result that in many churches there was little room for those who could not afford sittings;[1] they were relegated to galleries, or either sat on stools or stood in the aisles.

Special seats were provided for churchwardens, the mayor and corporation, the judge of assize;[2] often there was a seat or stool for



Plan 23

WITHERSLACK, Westmorland. *Built 1666. The plan shows the seating arrangements prior to 1880. The ceiling and the colonnade at the east end (reminiscent of basilican treatment) were added in 1768. At A A are the Decalogue and Our Father, and at B the royal arms dated 1710. Note the singing pew at the west end on the north side, and the children's seats facing the pulpit. An inventory of 1709 mentions* inter alia *'four cushions, hangings for the pulpit and table; one leather carpet, and one fine carpet for the table'. This is a fine example of a village church.*

[1] Pew rents were a legacy from the later Middle Ages. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, Ludlow had an elaborately organized system not only of pew rents but of letting off parts of the church, on which people built their own pews.

[2] Good examples of canopied churchwardens' seats dating from this period can be seen in St. Margaret Pattens; Plemstall, Shotwick, Cheshire; Haughton-le-Skerne, Co. Durham. They are usually at the back of the church. All Saints', Northampton, has a mayor's seat, and St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, a judge's seat, both belonging to this period. At Wokingham Parish Church, before its restoration in 1864, there was a 'large square corporation pew on the south side of the nave, upholstered in blue, with its table and candlesticks' (B. Long, *Records of the Parish Church and Parish of Wokingham* (Oxford, 1937), p. 46.)

those doing public penance, for a bride and bridegroom, and in one instance, at least, for visitors in the neighbourhood.[1] The period was not good in its provision for seats for children. Usually they were placed in aisles or galleries,[2] or else if there was no Communion in the chancel. In some auditory churches they were seated near the altar; for instance, in All Saints', Newcastle (Plan 40), the girls from the local charity school used to sit on the step in front of the altar rails, an ornament as it was said 'more truly becoming a Christian church than all the profuse and magnificent decorations of art'.[3] Occasionally there were seats kept for the children in front of the reading desk, where they could be conveniently catechized by the minister after the second lesson at Evensong.[4]

Even clubs whose purpose was openly convivial were given a pew in the church, and at Sefton in Lancashire is one which belonged to what was called the Mock Corporation of Sefton. It was a dining and drinking club founded by Liverpool gentlemen and merchants in 1771 for the purpose, so its records say, of social intercourse on Sundays. The attraction at Sefton was the cooking of Nelly Barker, the landlady of the Punch Bowl Inn, near the church. They drove out to Sefton in the morning, attended morning service,

[1] In St. Ishmael's Church, Ferryside, Carmarthenshire, there used to be a chair occupied by the bride and bridegroom at a wedding; it was divided down the middle and carved with appropriate texts. It was also used by married couples who had to do public penance for their quarrels; they sat in it clothed in a white sheet (Mary Curtis, *The Antiquities of Laugharne, Pendine, and their Neighbourhood* (2nd ed., 1880), p. 256). Little Barningham, Norfolk, once had a pew for the bride and bridegroom, and it was also used by strangers. The pew was given to the church in 1640 by a local shepherd, who wanted it to serve as his memorial. On one corner was a skeleton carved with this inscription:

For Couples join'd in Wedlock: and my Friend
That Stranger is: This seate I did intend,
But at the Coste and Charge of Stephen Crosbee.

All you that doe this Place pass by
As you are nowe, even soe was I,
Remember Death for you must dye,
And as I am, soe shall you be,
Anno Domini 1640.

(Francis Blomefield, *History of Norfolk* (1807), vi, p. 317.)

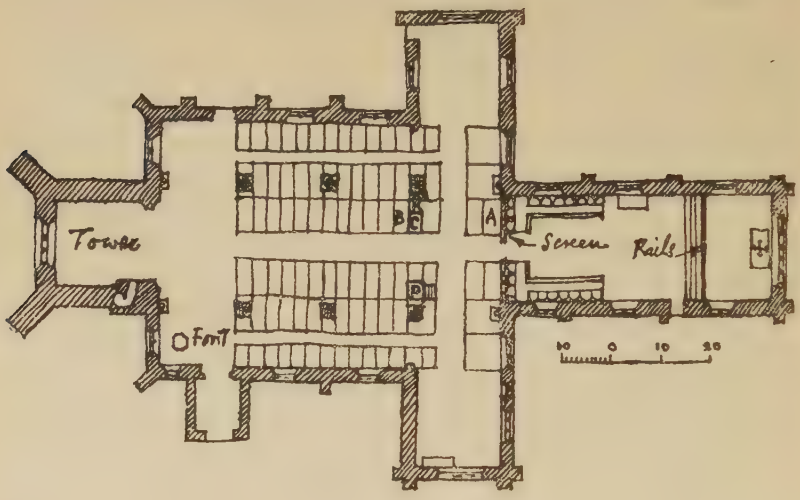
[2] At the west end of Kedington, Suffolk, are two blocks of seats rising in tiers which were used by the children. They date from the eighteenth century. Those in the south aisle were occupied by the boys, and those in the north aisle by the girls. Facing each of these blocks is a seat for the teacher in the back row of the ordinary pews, so made that during the service he faces the children and not the east end.

[3] T. Sopwith, *A Historical and Descriptive Account of All Saints' Church in Newcastle-on-Tyne* (1826), p. 90. Chislehampton, Oxfordshire, has seats for the children at right angles to the altar; in front are low rails, against which they used to kneel. These seats possibly served also for communicants on Sacrament days.

[4] E.g., Witherslack, Westmorland, before it was restored in 1880 (Plan 23).

dined and then went to Evensong. In the winter the weather made it impossible to drive as far as Sefton, so they had to forgo the pleasure of Mrs. Barker's cooking and meet instead at a coffee house in Bootle.[1]

The local gentry had their family pews; and an age which was still largely hierarchic in structure saw nothing reprehensible in the



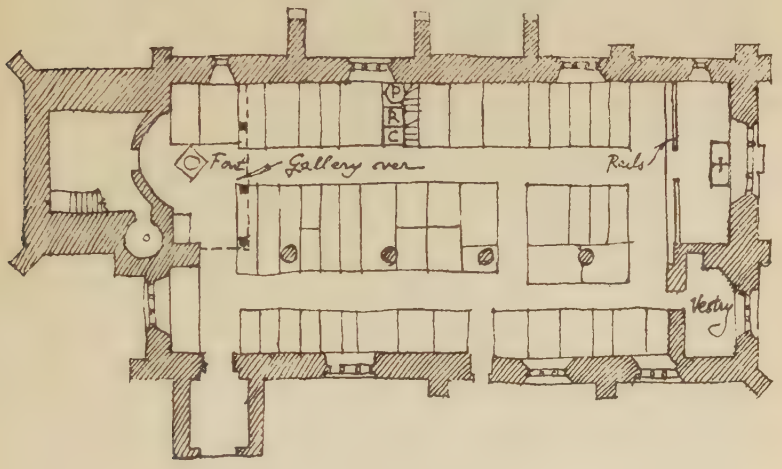
Plan 24

SEDGEFIELD, Co. Durham. *A medieval fabric refurnished in the late seventeenth century. The stalls and rails in the chancel remain, but the church was repewed in the nineteenth century. The plan shows the nave fittings as in 1663; the screen was erected c. 1638. The pew marked A was for the 'parson's wife' and that marked B was 'the sick wife's stall', i.e. a churching pew. Note the Restoration stalls in the chancel reserved for communion services as at Burneston, Plan No. 3, and at St. Katharine's Hospital, Plan No. 20.*

prominence given by these pews to rank and fortune in the House of God. Strictly speaking the ecclesiastical law knows nothing of family pews. Pews become attached to houses if their occupants have kept either the pews themselves in repair or the aisles and

[1] W. D. Caröe and E. J. A. Gordon, *Sefton* (1893), *passim*. The pew is at the west end of the north aisle of Sefton Church; it has three rows of seats and a square box for the mayor. The club's regalia was destroyed by enemy action in 1941.

chapels in which they are placed. But the pew goes with the house and a change of ownership means that the pew passes to the new owner and belongs to him and his family as long as they live in the parish. Family pews were often on the site of chantry chapels; and after the dissolution of the chantries the founder's family used the space within the parclose screen as a square pew.



Plan 25

BARNOLDSWICK, Yorkshire. *A medieval building refitted in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The three-decker is set more than halfway down the north wall, but whereas the seating is mainly seventeenth century the seats towards the east end are eighteenth century, and there may have been an open space here for communicants in the seventeenth century. Note the clever apse-like arrangement under the tower arch, forming a background to the font.*

Family pews were of numerous kinds (cf. Plans 3, 4, 5, 14, 27, and 45). In many cases they were made out of side or west galleries or the old rood-loft; or were just parts of aisles and transepts separated from the rest of the church by screens or rails.[1] Some were furnished with domestic tables, chairs and sofas; some had

[1] E.g., the Bluet pew, Holcombe Rogus, Devonshire. It is surrounded by Jacobean screen work, adorned with medallions of scenes taken from the earlier part of Genesis.

their own fireplace with fender and fire-irons and were entered by their own doors. The screen separating the pew from the church might have glass windows with shutters and curtains. Such pews which were simply private sitting-rooms in the church were called parlour pews.[1] Another type of family pew was known as a close, covered or canopy pew or a dovecot. It was rectangular in shape, surrounded by parclose screens and had its own roof. The seats ran round the inside of the screens; glass windows were sometimes put in the sides and the top crenellated to look like a miniature castle. Often these pews were transformed medieval chantry chapels or made out of screen-work of ones which had been broken up after the Reformation.[2] They proved so popular as pews that new ones, especially in the Jacobean period, were put up which in shape were exactly like a medieval chantry chapel.[3] Covered pews were not confined to England; they were common at this period on the Continent, and even found their way into the Sistine Chapel, where there was once a large square pew in two storeys, described as like a booth in a tea garden, which was used for the accommodation of dignitaries at great solemnities.[4] Great trouble was taken over the furnishings of family pews; and their upholsteries and curtains, blue, green, red, crimson, and even puce, brought colour into the churches and showed up well against the whitewashed walls. A pew in Ashbourne Church was owned by Dr. Taylor, a wealthy

[1] Parlour pews are now rather rare. At Chaddleworth, Berkshire, and Minstead, Hampshire, they are built out from the main body of the church like stage rooms. The Sherard pew in the west gallery at Stapleford, Leicestershire, is very comfortably furnished, and the mantelpiece is adorned with a carving of the sacrifice of Isaac. At High Wycombe there used to be a parlour pew belonging to the Carington family over the chancel arch; it was fitted with carpets and rich velvet sofas, and had a large oriel window projecting into the nave. (See Plate V.) The pew belonging to the Hall at Northorpe, Lincolnshire, had its own dog kennel, called the 'Hall Dog Pew'.

[2] Lockington, Leicestershire; Shelsley Walsh, Worcestershire, have chantries which owe their survival to being used as family pews. The Bolton pew, Wensley, Yorkshire, and the Barnardiston pew, Kedington, Suffolk, are both made up from medieval screen-work.

[3] Good Jacobean examples of this type of pew can be seen at Arlesey, Bedfordshire; Ellingham, Hampshire; Madley, Herefordshire; Cartmel Fell (Plan 27) and Whalley, Lancashire; Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire; Rycote Chapel, Oxfordshire; Stokesay, Shropshire. At Whalley they are locally known as cages. One pew at Rycote was put up for Charles I when he held his court here in 1625; the other is in two storeys, the upper one intended for musicians and singers. These pews are usually about eight feet high. A good eighteenth-century example is to be found in the north transept of the old church at Richard's Castle, Herefordshire. Warbleton, Sussex, and Croft, Yorkshire, have what are called elevated pews reached by their own staircase; the one at Croft is a very magnificent structure, with a canopy supported on doric columns.

[4] Benjamin Webb, *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 551; cf. Forse, *Ceremonial Curiosities*, p. 6.

Plate V

Interior of High Wycombe Church, Bucks., from an old engraving showing the church before the drastic nineteenth-century alterations. The lofty pulpit, with its tester, is in the position so usual at this period, being set against the pier one bay west of the chancel arch. The parlour pew over the chancel screen, occupying to some extent the place of the medieval rood loft, is that of the Carington family (see p. 96 *footnote*). The pagoda-like structure is surmounted by the Royal Arms, flanked by the Decalogue, etc., on the wall behind. The altar rails can be discerned beyond the screen.

and well-beneficed clergyman, whose claim to fame is his friendship with Dr. Johnson. As a prebend of Westminster he became entitled to some of the trappings used at George III's coronation. His perquisites included a cushion on which the crown had been laid and some velvet. The cushion he gave to Ashbourne Church as a pulpit cushion. His pew was on the site of the chantry of the Holy Cross; it was furnished with large shelves for Bibles and books of devotions; and he had it upholstered with the velvet from the Abbey in order to bring it into correspondence with 'his substantial creditable equipage'.[1]

This method of seating, with so many pews in private hands occupying more than their fair share of the church and the frequent relegation of the poor to the background, had to disappear. As a method of seating it was incapable of finding room in our churches for the ever-growing population of early Victorian England and became a positive hindrance to the Church's work. All honour is due to the churchmen who, under the inspiration of Dr. Neale, introduced open seats into our churches, however dull and ugly they may seem in comparison with the pews which they displaced. The open seats, free to all and capable of accommodating many more people than the pews, played a very considerable part in helping the Church to make some impression on the new England created by the Industrial Revolution. The old method had, however, two advantages; where it was successful in seating all the parishioners, and in many places it was, it conveyed a sense of community in the parish life which has since largely disappeared. The other advantage was of a historical kind; the method succeeded in preserving in a general sense the medieval appearance of our churches down to the nineteenth century; and for this medievalists should be grateful. The pews, many with screens and canopies looking from the outside like chantry chapels, broke up the space in the nave much as it was broken up in the Middle Ages, and incidentally considerably improved its appearance by making for variety. So much so that small

[1] *Journal of the Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, N.S. II, p. 3. Dr. Taylor acquired this pew by exchanging for it two others which went with his house in Ashbourne, the Mansion. The house was built on the site of one where the priests who served the chantry of the Holy Cross used to live. But love of display rather than any feeling about the connection between his house and the site of the pew probably led Dr. Taylor to effect the exchange; for the pew occupied a prominent position in the church.

country churches which still retain their family pews with the high screens have a far more genuine medieval atmosphere than many of the well-known churches of the Middle Ages whose interior furnishings mainly date from the last century.

5. *The Position of the Singers*

A special place was assigned to the singers who formed the choir; they led what singing there was and occasionally gave an anthem. The singers at Weston Longville, Parson Woodforde's parish in Norfolk, would sing an anthem on Christmas morning between the Litany and the Communion.[1] Surpliced choirs were unknown in parish churches; the singers wore their ordinary clothes, and since organs were rare, except in towns, they were generally accompanied by a few musicians. Their most usual place was a singing-loft or gallery generally, though not always, at the west end, which was in many cases a converted rood-loft taken down and re-erected at the back of the church.[2] The singing-loft was of some size, and the singers and musicians would occupy a few seats at the front or side, the rest of the loft being used by children or ordinary members of the congregation.[3] Organs were also placed in the loft and when the organ case was of good design they added much to the appearance of the church.[4] A number of these organs still, of course, remain *in situ*[5] or have been replaced, sometimes in new west galleries.

John Byng, later fifth Viscount Torrington, who was a connoisseur of church music, has much to say about singers and singing-

[1] *The Diary of a Country Parson: The Reverend James Woodforde* (1924–31), iii, p. 400; iv, p. 87. A favourite Christmas anthem was the well-known 'Remember, O thou man'; cf. Thomas Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

[2] The west galleries at Winterbourne Tomson, Dorset, and Strensham, Worcestershire, are converted rood-lofts.

[3] The west gallery at St. Clodock, Herefordshire (Plan 16), has a space on the south side, roughly ten feet by eight feet with benches on two sides for singers and musicians, and a table with a sloping top for their music; there is a similar space in the front of the west gallery at Kedington, Suffolk. Cf. *The Diary of a Country Parson*, i, p. 84, for an account of how in 1769 the seats in the singers' gallery at Castle Cary, Somerset, were divided between the singers and the ordinary congregation.

[4] A good instance is the west gallery at Stanford-on-Avon, Northamptonshire, with an organ which belonged to Charles I's chapel in the palace of Whitehall. It was sold by Cromwell and re-erected here, c. 1649. It is no longer in working order.

[5] E.g., Bucklebury, Berkshire; Whalley, Lancashire.

lofts in his travel diaries. At Eaton Socon one Sunday in June 1791, he found there was tolerable psalm singing in the loft accompanied by a flute and a haut-boy. A week later at Folkingham in Lincolnshire he mentions not only the numerous and decent congregation, but also 'a singing-loft crowded; and amongst them one lady in a blue silk bonnet, who sung notably; but the bassoons, and haut-boys were too loud and shrieking'. When he was at Middleham in Wensleydale the next year, he saw about a dozen singers in the loft, male and female, and they were accompanied by two bassoons, which during the singing of the anthem, 'And the Trumpet shall Sound' imitated the trumpet; the anthem was not, however, a great success.[1]

When there was no singing-loft the singers had a special place in the body of the church, either at the back or side, called a singing pew (Plan 23).[2] Sometimes the pew was attached to the three-storeyed pulpit on the model of the ambo. In the time of James I there was put up in Patrington Church what a contemporary document describes as 'one great pew builded upon general costs and charges of the parish, wherein the parson, curate, clerk and singing men are to sit in time of divine service'.[3] Occasionally instead of a pew the singers occupied a raised platform at the back of the church.

The Royal Order of 1561 directing that rood-lofts were to be destroyed, was not universally carried out; and especially in Wales, rood-lofts, with sconces for candles placed along the parapet, continued to be used for singers and musicians or organs till well within living memory. For instance, at Clynnog Fawr in Carnarvon-

[1] *The Torrington Diaries*, ii, pp. 317, 338; iii, p. 58. Up till 1944 there was a white painted gallery over the north aisle at Middleham, and it may have been the one to which Lord Torrington referred.

[2] Langley Chapel, Shropshire (Plan 29) has in its north-west corner what is thought to be a music rest, behind which the singers stood; it is four feet ten inches high. Until a few years ago Matterdale, Cumberland, had a square singers' seat at the west end, with a font in the middle as it served also as a christening pew. Cf. *The Diary of a Country Parson*, ii, p. 147, for an account of how at Weston Longville in 1784 the singing-seat was moved to the west end of the church, thereby making the interior appear much more to advantage. At Egglescliffe, Co. Durham, the singers occupied the Aislaby Chapel on the north side of the nave, and there are still traces on the wall of the pegs where they hung their hats.

[3] George Poulson, *The History and Antiquities of the Seignory of Holderness* (Hull, 1841), ii, p. 456. Samlesbury, Lancashire, still has a singing pew with the inscription 'Singers 1720'. It is in the south aisle against one of the pillars, and originally formed one piece of furniture with a three-storeyed pulpit, which stood on the nave side of the pillar and was removed in 1884.

shire the singers would go up into the loft just before the Venite.[1] New lofts, or galleries as they were called, were even erected on top of the chancel screen; particularly was this the case in Somerset during the Laudian period.[2] The singers in the rood-loft invariably faced west towards the congregation. The arrangement, though interesting as a continuation of the medieval practice, was not always satisfactory. About 1728 the people of Welshpool petitioned their bishop to order the removal of the rood-loft, alleging that 'a great number of the very common sort of people sit in it (under pretence of psalm singing), who run up and down there; some of them spitting upon the people's heads below'.[3]

The important feature in the placing of the singers is the way in which they were never allowed to come between the congregation and the minister when he was taking the service. They are usually behind or at the side of the congregation,[4] often in a west gallery or an aisle; and this was the case also when they were in the rood-loft; for in many churches the priest's desk was some way down the nave, and there were as nearly as many people between him and the rood-screen as there were between him and the west gallery. Even when the singers were seated near the reading desk they do not seem to have been at all obtrusive.

[1] H. H. Hughes and H. L. North, *The Old Churches of Snowdonia* (Bangor, 1924), pp. 49, 50, 130, 215, 275. Dolwyddelan, Carnarvonshire, has an early sixteenth-century chancel screen, with a parapet and fourteen sconces for candles added after the Reformation. The candles were lit especially for Plygain, a service of psalms, carols, and prayers, held in Welsh churches either late on Christmas eve or early Christmas morning. The service was a kind of post-Reformation substitute for the midnight mass, and only died out within the last hundred years.

[2] F. Bligh Bond and Bede Camm, *Rood Screens and Rood Lofts*, i, pp. 148, 150, 189. Berrow, East Brent, Rodney Stoke are the Somerset churches which once had these Laudian lofts over the chancel screen. At St. Nicholas's, Newcastle, a chancel screen with a loft for the organ was erected in 1671. As late as 1849 the organ occupied the rood-loft at Hartland, Devonshire. For the Assize and University Sermon at St. Mary-the-Virgin, Oxford, the choir occupy the organ loft over the chancel screen.

[3] *Arch. Camb.*, vi, 3, p. 92. Very occasionally in small single room churches the singers and organ were placed in a loft running across the east end, immediately over the altar; but the arrangement though found in France (a notable instance is Montpellier Cathedral) and in Lutheran churches, was rare in this country. The present church of St. Marylebone originally had the organ at the east end over the altar and the case formed part of the reredos.

[4] If the singers were in a loft at the west end the congregation stood facing them for some of the singing, especially the metrical psalm after the third collect.

6. *The Decoration of the Nave*

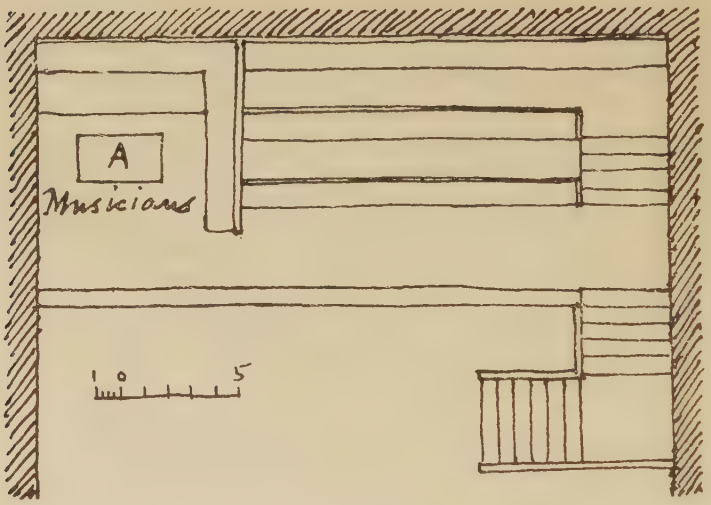
The wall decoration of the nave was intended to help the parishioners use the services profitably and understand the Church's constitution and its way of life and worship. The best known form of decoration was the royal arms, though it was not necessarily the most important; it was generally set up on the tympanum, or if the tympanum was missing, on the wall over the chancel arch. The practice of setting up the royal arms in church grew up at the Reformation; it is a practice not peculiar to the Church of England or reformed Christianity; royal arms used to adorn the churches of France and Spain, and in the reign of Mary Tudor the royal arms, which had been set up over the rood-screen, were only placed elsewhere so as to make room for the restored rood, and not turned out of the church. It is a matter for regret that the Anglican reformers should not have found some other place for them rather than that once occupied by the rood, thereby exposing themselves to the taunt from malicious Latinists that they had set up a lion and a dog in place of our Lady and St. John, the lion and the greyhound argent being the supporters of the royal arms of Elizabeth.

It is often said that the royal arms were symbolic of the Church's dependence on the civil power and a witness to the Erastian character of its constitution. This is a somewhat superficial way of looking at them. They expressed the fervid loyalty which at times swept the country; like the royal arms set up at the Restoration, with the inscription, 'God bless King Charles IInd and send him long to reign.'[1] They represented the royal supremacy; but the royal supremacy did not mean an authority external to the Church. Church and State were two parts of one society finding its centre in the sovereign, who made provision for this society's welfare both as a Church and a State, who allowed the ecclesiastical constitution of the society to function freely, and protected it from the rule of ecclesiastical authorities outside the country, notably the Roman Curia. The arms were not those of a purely secular person; because the sovereign is the centre of a society which is both a Church and a State, he is himself what seventeenth-century lawyers called a

[1] H. Munro Cautley, *Royal Arms and Commandments in our Churches* (1934), p. 67.

spiritual person, capable of jurisdiction in spiritual things, though not, of course, of exercising pastoral and priestly powers; for at his coronation he has been anointed with holy oil, and clothed in a dalmatic, the vestment of a deacon.[1]

The royal arms were painted either directly on the walls or else on wooden panels or canvas; they might also be carved in wood or stone, or modelled in plaster, and in the early nineteenth century they



Plan 26

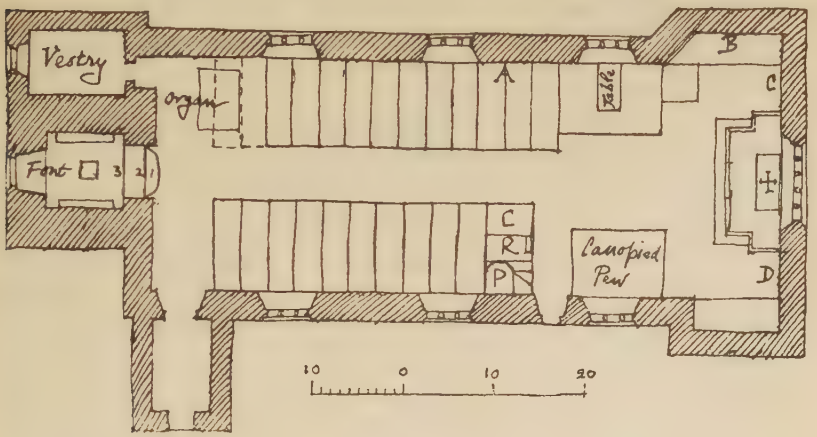
ST. CLODOCK, Herefordshire. *The west gallery, built c. 1700, is of great interest, as it includes an enclosed space on the south side for the musicians. A is the table on which they laid their books. The other seats in the gallery are presumably for the ordinary congregation. The church also contains a good three-decker and a short altar with rails round three sides, and a communicants' seat.*

were sometimes made of cast-iron. Scriptural sentences would be written up round them, emphasizing the duty of obedience to the powers that be and the truth, so often forgotten, that it is difficult for the Church to flourish in times of civil unrest and turmoil.

The orders of 1560 and 1561 as well as Canon LXXXII of 1604

[1] John Godolphin, *Repertorium Canonicum* (1687), p. 9.

enjoined that the Commandments should be set up at the east end of the chancel (cf. Plans 5, 23, 27, and 46), but in many cases the practice which started in the reign of Edward VI continued to be followed,[1] and the Commandments were written up on the tympanum (cf. Plan 28), and often accompanied by the Belief and Lord's Prayer. The Commandments were valued as a reminder of the moral discipline of the Christian life; and when they were combined with the Belief and Our Father, all three together summarized



Plan 27

CARTMEL FELL, Lancashire. *A medieval building largely refitted in the seventeenth century. Of this work, the two square pews (the one on the south side being canopied), and the three-storey pulpit remain. The altar and rails, nave seats, organ, and vestry are modern. The east window retains its medieval glass of the Seven Sacraments. At A B C and D respectively, are the royal arms, Decalogue, Our Father, and the Creed. In spite of the modern additions it remains a good example of a simple type of village auditory church.*

the faith, conduct, and prayer necessary for the Christian profession.[2] The position on the tympanum was in some ways preferable to that on the east wall of the chancel, since more people were able to see them. Under the Commandments might be sentences from the Old Testament on the duty of obedience to God or

[1] v.s.p. 35. [2] v.i.p. 160.

perhaps the response which is said at the end of the Commandments in the Communion office; under the Creed and Our Father, sentences from scripture or the liturgy drew out the duty of spreading the Gospel and the nature of Christian prayer. Where the royal arms, the Commandments, the Belief, and the Lord's Prayer with explanatory sentences from scripture were all painted on the tympanum, and perhaps too the letters I H S at the top, the whole scheme spoke to the parishioners of the duties incumbent upon them as members both of an earthly and a heavenly city.[1]

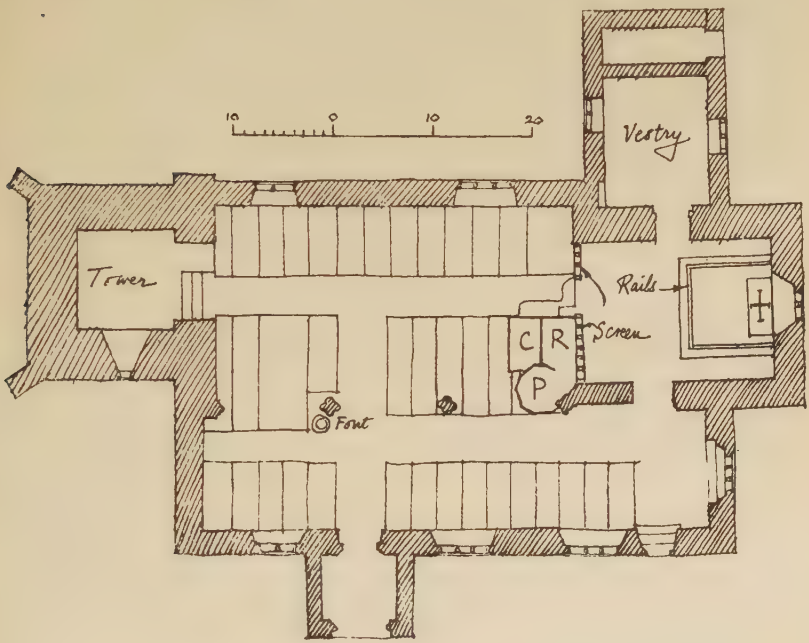
The usual form of decoration elsewhere in the nave was sentences from scripture, written up in obedience to Canon LXXXII which ordered chosen sentences of scripture to be set up in convenient places on the walls;[2] indeed, without them the walls were thought to give the church 'a sort of conventicle aspect.'[3] According to seventeenth-century visitation articles where the sentences are often mentioned, they were written up on the walls to serve the same

[1] Examples of these painted tympana can be seen at Parracombe, Devonshire, 1758 (Plan 28); Baddiley, Cheshire, 1663; Ellingham, Hampshire, 1671; Lockington, Leicestershire, 1704. The tympanum at Lydbury North, Shropshire, just has the Decalogue, Belief, and Lord's Prayer, dated 1615. In the west country the Decalogue, Belief, and Lord's Prayer were often written up on the walls of the nave or transept, e.g. Abbey Dore (Plan 33), St. Clodock (Plan 26), and Pembridge, Herefordshire; Stokesay and Winstanstow, Shropshire; Patricio, Brecknockshire. Teddington, Gloucestershire; Bromfield, Shropshire, each have a magnificent royal arms painted on the south wall of the nave. In and around the Lake District it was customary to set up the royal arms on a side wall of the nave immediately opposite the reading pew, e.g. Cartmel Fell, Lancashire (Plan 27); Ravenstonedale (Plan 46) and Witherslack (Plan 23), Westmorland.

[2] Occasionally pictures were used. Little Stanmore, Middlesex, built by the first Duke of Chandos between 1715 and 1720, has its walls and ceiling painted with biblical scenes and figures by Laguerre and Beleucci. Beleucci was also responsible for the paintings in the chapel in the Duke's famous house, Canons. When the house was dismantled in 1747, the paintings were bought for the church at Great Witley, Worcestershire, and now adorn the ceiling there; the Descent from the Cross at the west end, the Ascension in the middle, and at the east end the Nativity. The ceiling has also oval medallions with angels holding the instruments of the Passion. King David with his harp was often set up near the singing loft, and he can still be seen over the loft at Abbey Dore and at the west end of East Hagbourne, Berkshire. Prestbury, Cheshire, still has paintings of the twelve apostles above the nave arches, dating from 1719. In 1720 the sailors' gallery in the medieval church of All Saints', Newcastle-on-Tyne, pulled down in 1786, was very suitably beautified with devices of 'St. Paul's shipwreck'; 'Our Saviour's being asleep in the storm'; 'Our Saviour's taking Peter by the hand when he was sinking in the waves'; 'Jonah vomitted up upon the dry land' (*Surtees Society*, I, p. 462). In the early seventeenth century skeletons with such inscriptions as *Memento Mori*, e.g., as at Abbey Dore, and Rug Chapel, Merioneth-shire, and figures of Time with a scythe and hour-glass, e.g., as at Spennithorne, Yorkshire, were popular. Pictures of Queen Elizabeth and Charles I sometimes found their way into churches. But on the whole, except in private chapels and as altar-pieces, pictures were not very common.

[3] See *Arch. Ael.*, N.S.xvii, p. 251 footnote.

purpose as they did in the buildings of the early Christians, adornment and instruction.[1] Judging from the examples that remain they were not unsuccessful as a method of adornment and far preferable to inferior pictures. The lettering is clear and attractive to look at; the borders are often filled with angels, flowers, and queer beasts. In 1684 James Addison of Hornby in Lancashire, locally much in



Plan 28

PARRACOMBE, Devonshire. *A medieval building refitted in the eighteenth century and little altered since that time. The arrangements are of the usual kind, with rails on three sides of the altar and a chancel screen; the chancel being reserved for Communion services. The church is noteworthy for the tympanum over the screen; this was repainted in 1758 with the royal arms, Decalogue, Our Father, Creed and scriptural sentences.*

request as a writer of sentences, contracted for thirty pounds to beautify the parish church of Kendal with texts from scripture; in the borders were to be cherubim, seraphim, green hissing serpents,

[1] Bingham, *Works*, iii, pp. 152–3.

and flying dragons, and the sentences themselves were to be garnished and embroidered with sundry quaint devices and flourishes in green, yellow, and black.[1]

But the sentences had to be not only fair and discreetly written but also profitable and fruitful; for they were also means of instruction. They served to remind the parishioners of the function of different parts of the nave in the liturgy; and appropriate sentences were written up near the font, reading desk, and pulpit, calling attention to the meaning and purpose of the liturgical acts with which they were connected. They made each part of the church intelligible in terms of scripture. Sentences near the door told the worshipper what should be his attitude of mind on entering or leaving church. Along the walls were what Wordsworth, in describing the church at Grasmere in the *Excursion*, calls 'admonitory texts';[2] they told of the saving truths of the Christian religion and the duty of obedience to its moral precepts; and provided subjects for meditation, mostly taken from the Pauline epistles, before the service began and in the intervals between its various parts.[3] The religion of these sentences was simple and direct, at times even crude, too crude perhaps for modern tastes; but where in this period there was an understanding of the way in which the church was arranged and

[1] *Trans. C. and W. A. and A. Soc.*, O. S., xv, p. 170. Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, ch. iv, 9–10, will not allow lettering to be a form of decoration; but he seems to be thinking of the hideous scrolls with scriptural sentences popular with the Victorians. He pleads that they should be legible and simply written, and set up in places where they can be seen, as indeed they were in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He would admit them into churches as performing an intellectual office.

[2] *Excursion*, Book v. The lines are:

> *Admonitory texts inscribed the walls*
> *Each in its ornamental scroll inclosed;*
> *Each also crown'd with winged heads—a pair*
> *Of rudely painted cherubim.*

The texts are still there on boards hung on the walls; but the cherubim have disappeared.

[3] Sentences explaining the function of each part of the church may be found at Puddletown, Dorset; Abbey Dore (Plan 33), and St. Margaret's, Herefordshire; Stokesay, Shropshire; Witnesham, Suffolk. Witnesham has also sentences of a more general nature for meditation; and this type can also be found at Hawkshead, Lancashire; Sherrington, Wiltshire; Whitby Parish Church; Patricio, Brecknockshire. At Rug Chapel, Merionethshire, are some in Welsh. In some parts of Wales it was customary to have Englyns written over the doors of churches (Richard Fenton, *Tours in Wales*, p. 99). Sometimes sources other than the Bible were used, e.g., questions from a catechism on the Sacraments, like those written up in St. Martin's, Windermere, in the reign of Elizabeth. Dr. J. M. Neale approved of having sentences on the walls and called it a beautiful custom. In his *A Few Words to Church Builders* (1841), p. 25, he gives a scheme for the whole church taken from the Psalms, and for which he claims seventeenth-century authority.

a reverent, intelligent, and fruitful sharing in the service, it was due in no small measure to churchfolk like Sir Roger de Coverley, who diversified the walls with scriptural sentences, explaining the meaning and purpose of each part of the church, and inculcating a spirit of worship.

Chapter IV

THE ALTAR AND THE CHANCEL
1559–1660

1. The Pre-Laudian Altar

The chief and most necessary ornament in a church is the altar; and we have now to consider the Anglican tradition about the altar: the position which it has occupied in our churches since the Elizabethan Settlement, its materials and ornaments, the significance attached to it by liturgists and theologians. Much of this chapter will necessarily be devoted to the altar controversy which played a predominant part in the life of the Church between 1617 and the Civil War, and with which the name of Archbishop Laud is inseparably connected. The controversy was by no means useless and sterile. It compelled churchmen to think out the principles which should govern the position and surroundings of the altar in a building used for Prayer Book worship; and it brought out the important factors bearing on the subject such as the ecclesiastical law and tradition of the country, the convenience of the celebrant and congregation, the honour that belongs to the altar itself. It is usually thought that only the Laudian party had any constructive contribution to make to the subject. This is far from being true; in the course of the controversy both sides clarified and elaborated certain principles which are of permanent importance in the planning of churches.

Elizabethan visitation articles and injunctions are almost completely silent after the first few years of the reign on the position

which the altar should occupy. In 1583 Bishop Middleton, of St. David's, directed that for the Communion the table was to be placed in the lower end of the chancel as conveniently near the people as was possible, and that after the service it was to be moved back to the upper end.[1] The direction is an enforcement of the Royal Injunction of 1559;[2] and it can be taken as representative of episcopal policy towards the position of the altar throughout the reign of Elizabeth. Usually the lower end of the chancel was found to be the most convenient part of the church, and here the altar was placed table-wise. Sometimes bishops or their chancellors made an order that the Eucharist was always to be celebrated in the nave.[3] Modern churchmen are only following the example of the Elizabethans when they put up a temporary altar in the nave for a parish Communion, though the altar may to-day stand altar-wise. Even the old communion tables which the nineteenth century banished to the vestry or the back of the church are once again being brought back into use.

But an Elizabethan communion table, however handsome it may be, is a heavy and cumbersome object to move; and gradually it became customary to keep the altar in the part of the church where it had been found from experience that the communicants could most conveniently kneel and follow the service. Canon LXXXII of 1604 omits all reference to the altar standing at the east end; it is ordered to be placed 'in so good sort, within the church or chancel, as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, may communicate with the said minister'. Consequently under both Elizabeth and James I, parish church altars came to be placed, not only during the Communion, but at all times in the nave or at the lower end of the chancel, and not near the east wall. Such altars were not always of wood; in 1627 the parish of Tewkesbury set up table-wise in the middle of the chancel its medieval stone *mensa*, which dated from 1239 and had been discarded at the Reformation.[4]

[1] W. P. M. Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration* (1924), iii, p. 147.

[2] v.s. pp. 33–4.

[3] Cf. *Surtees Society*, xxi, p. 119, for an order made in the diocese of Durham in 1567, that the Communion was always to be administered in the nave.

[4] E. G. Benson, 'Some Notes on the Old Churchwardens' Accounts' in *The Tewkesbury Parochial Magazine* (October 1932), pp. 91–5.

The communion table was not left bare, but covered with what episcopal visitation articles and injunctions usually call 'some covering of silk, buckram, or other such like for keeping clean thereof'.[1] Canon LXXXII orders the table to be 'covered in the time of divine service with a carpet of silk or other decent stuff'. In churches where an Elizabethan or Jacobean altar is still used, it is a common practice to leave the front bare under the mistaken impression that the carving on the frame was meant to be seen. But Elizabethan churchmen had their altars sumptuously carved not for display but as a means of honouring the most important piece of furniture in the church. They carried on the traditional practice of veiling the altar out of reverence for the table of the Lord and a desire to protect it from dust and to keep it clean. The carpet, as the covering on which Elizabethan bishops laid so much emphasis is usually called, was generally of the full kind, falling to the ground on all four sides. Parishes often had carpets of a better material than buckram. In 1597 St. Edmund's, Salisbury, possessed an altar cloth of red silk damask with a gold fringe and a blue lining; and in 1608 the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, expended twenty pounds on a carpet and cushion made of cloth of gold for the communion table.[2] For the actual celebration of the Communion the altar was also covered with the fair linen cloth, ordered by the rubric, which also went over all four sides. Judging from entries in some churchwardens' accounts great trouble was taken to get the communion linen, or communion napery as it was sometimes called, regularly washed; and at St. Margaret's, Westminster, orris powder was bought to sprinkle in the chest where it was kept.[3]

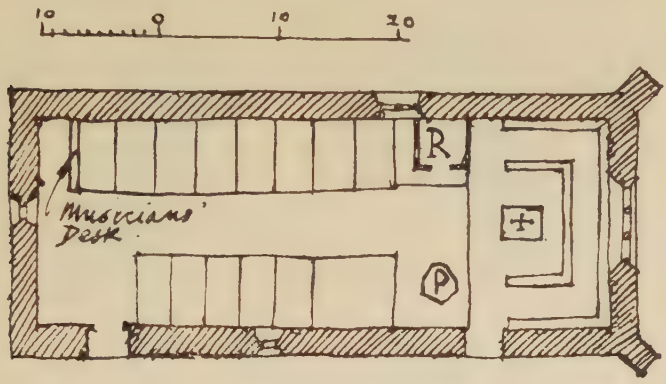
Except for the Eucharist there were generally no ornaments whatever on the altar, and even then they were confined to what was strictly necessary for the Eucharistic action: paten, chalice, one or two flagons, alms bason, a Communion book, and a cushion. The

[1] In 1577 Bishop Barnes ordered that in the diocese of Durham the covering was to be of 'buckram or such like'; his omission of any better material made Cosin many years later nickname him 'a buckram bishop'.

[2] *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Edmund and St. Thomas, Sarum*, p. 374; John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England*, p. 28. The twenty pounds expended at St. Margaret's, Westminster, also included the cost of a new pulpit cushion. There was no attempt to follow a colour sequence; parishes usually had one covering, or at the most two, one for festivals and one for ordinary use, or for Lent.

[3] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times*, p. 30. Cf. *Arch. Cant.*, xxxv, p. 59 ff.

accounts of St. Andrew's, Canterbury, go into great details about a new 'communion cushion' which the parish bought in 1616–17. The materials—the taffeta with pile arranged in tufts, the special kind of fustian from Ulm, the silk for the tassels, and the bumbast for the stuffing—were all bought separately; and the parish clerk, who appears to have been good at upholstery, made them up into the cushion.[1] Candles, though they were found in the Chapel Royal



Plan 29

LANGLEY CHAPEL, Shropshire. *Built c. 1601 as a chapel of ease in the parish of Acton Burnell. The pulpit is still in the building and is shown in its probable original position, as are the seats and desks for the communicants, some of which have disappeared. The reading pew is a fine example with a tester over it; the woodwork throughout is excellent, and even in its present derelict condition the little building gives a clear picture of the interior of a small place of worship at the beginning of the seventeenth century.*

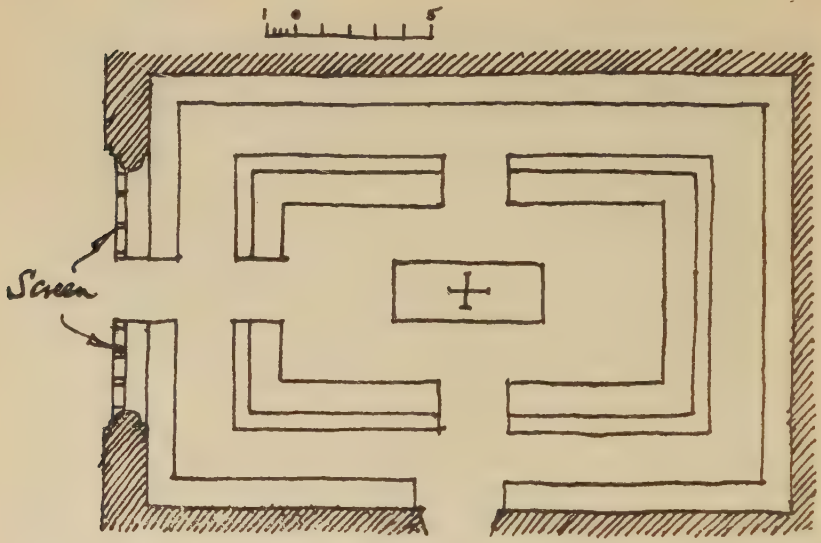
and the private chapel of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, were not at this period customary in parish churches, though they may have sometimes been used at early Communions on great festivals.[2]

The communicants, after listening with the ordinary congregation to the Commandments, the Epistle and Gospel, and possibly

[1] *Arch. Cant.*, xxxvi, p. 107.

[2] Cf. *Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow*, p. 150, for an entry relating to the cost of a torch, or lynke as it is called, for the Communion on Christmas Day, 1571.

the rest of the Ante-Communion service, read from the pulpit or reading pew in the nave, entered the chancel at the Offertory or the Invitation. The rubric in the 1549 Prayer Book which ordered the communicants to tarry in or near the chancel had been omitted in the 1559 as well as the 1552 rite; but the 1549 practice still continued. In 1592 a William Peacocke was ordered by the court of the Archdeacon of Essex to make a public confession as a penance 'when



Plan 30

HAILES, Gloucestershire. *The Communion arrangements shown, with the altar set table-wise, and with seats and desks on all four sides for the communicants, belong to the early seventeenth century. All this disappeared in the last century.*

the whole company of communicants are gathered together in the choir'.[1] Andrewes says that in his chapel the communicants betook themselves to 'their proper and convenient place of kneeling' after the Offertory; and he points out that the words 'draw near' in the

[1] William Hale Hale, *A Series of Precedents and Proceedings in Criminal Causes* (1847), p. 206.

Plate VI

THE LORD'S SUPPER, from an engraving in *ἐνιαυτός or, A Course of Catechizing, etc.* (2nd ed. 1674). The communicants are seen kneeling round the altar, which is set tablewise; a position which was customary until the Laudian reforms, and continued in some places after the Restoration (see pp. 28, 112–14, 150–1).

Invitation are unnecessary, since the communicants have already done this.[1] There are some sentences carved on the screen at Cartmel (1618–22) which represent the spirit in which devout communicants of the period gathered in the chancel for the Eucharist. Over the gates on the west face are: 'Enter into his gates with praise and into his courts with love', and 'Be thankful unto him and speak good of his name'; on the east face, 'I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God than to dwell in the tabernacles of wickedness'.[2] After the communicants had all entered the chancel to kneel round the altar for the holy mysteries, someone was often deputed to stand by the screen doors and keep out intruders.[3]

The celebrant stood at the north side of the altar; and the minister who was assisting him opposite on the south side. The communicants knelt in the chancel stalls, if these were still in existence (cf. Plans 3 and 20); those who could not find room in the stalls, knelt on mats at stools, forms or benches arranged round the altar;[4] where mats were not available the floor was strewn with rushes. Instead of movable benches and forms, chancels were often fitted with permanent seating, which when the table stood in the middle ran along all three sides and was returned against the east face of

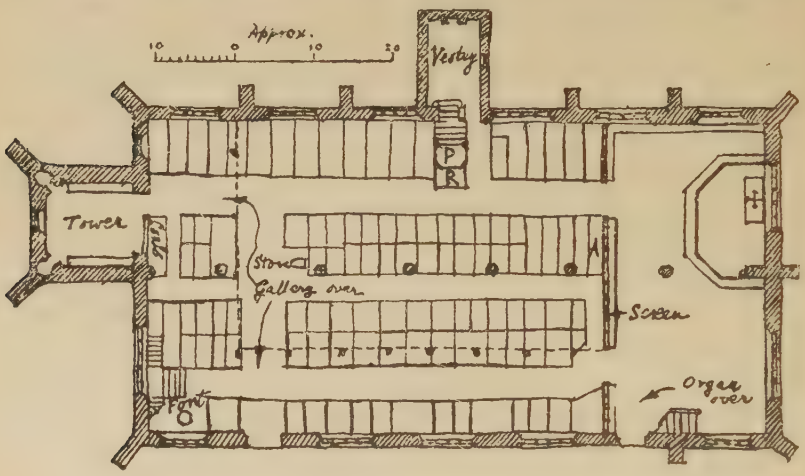
[1] *Minor Works*, pp. 153–6. A parallel to this 'drawing near' is to be found in a custom of the monks of Gigny in Franche-Comté, described by Dom. Claude de Vert. At the Gospel the monks placed themselves near the altar, 'pour être plus présens à l'action du Sacrifice, et plus à portée d'entendre et de voir ce qui s'y dit et ce qui s'y passe'. (Dom. Claude de Vert, *Explication de Cérémonies de l'Eglise*, (Paris 1709–13), i, p. 80).

[2] Low Ham, Somersetshire, 1623, has a screen adorned with sentences of a similar nature.

[3] Cf. *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Edmund and St. Thomas, Sarum*, pp. 96–7, for a payment to Thomas Tockar in 1551–2 for keeping of the 'quire door' on Palm Sunday and Easter Day at St. Edmund's, Salisbury, and a similar payment to John Carde in 1552–3.

[4] Langley Chapel, Shropshire, c. 1601, still has a bench with a kneeling desk in front, running along the north and east side of the chancel; originally it continued along the south side, but this part has been destroyed. The bench forms one piece of furniture with the kneeling desk and is movable; it was evidently intended to fit into the east end of the chapel. The table stands in the middle of the chancel so that the communicants knelt round it. (See Plan 29.) The churchwardens' accounts of St. Oswald's, Chester (*Trans. Lancs. and Ches. Ant. Soc.*, liii; pp. 102–3), have several entries relating to the purchase and repair of these benches and forms. In 1589 sixpence was paid 'for timber to the form that the communicants kneel at'; in 1593 a person called Little Davy was paid 'for mending the form before the communion table'; in 1620 money was spent on the repair 'of the desks for the communicants in the chancel'. Cosin (*Works*, v, p. 228) says that chancels should be 'furnished with a row of chairs or stools on either side'. Examples of seventeenth-century communion forms are still to be seen in a number of churches up and down the country; in the Harvard Chapel in Brecon Cathedral are two good examples which up till 1875 stood before the main altar in place of rails.

the screen.[1] There is nothing inherently unseemly in placing seats along the east wall of the chancel. In numerous Italian churches and cathedrals the altar is placed at the front of the chancel or apse, and the choir stalls round the wall behind, with a lectern in the middle of the chancel and the altar arranged so that Mass can be said from either side. During this period the east end of the chancel



Plan 31

ST. JOHN'S, LEEDS, Yorkshire. *Built 1634. The plan shows the interior arrangements prior to the alterations of 1868. Note the open space for communicants in the chancel and at the east end of the south aisle, and the communicants' seats. The organ is placed in a loft or gallery, but towards the east end of the south aisle and not in a western gallery.*

does not seem to have been considered any more sacred than other parts of the church; so much so that in 1631 a handsome monument was set up at the east end of the choir in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, by the first Earl of Cork; it did not stay there long, as Laud and Strafford insisted on it being removed. Clerical and

[1] Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, still has Jacobean seating round the north, east, and south sides of the chancel. Examples of seating from this period which went round all four sides of the chancel were to be seen till the middle of the last century at Hailes, Gloucestershire (Plan 30), St. Mary the Virgin, Wiggenhall, Norfolk; St. John the Evangelist, Leeds (Plan 31). M. H. Bloxham, *Companion to the Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, iii, pp. 174–7; R. and J. A. Brandon, *Parish Churches* (1851), ii, p. 45.

lay rectors with antiquarian tastes were fond of fitting up their chancels with stalls of the traditional shape, which were placed against the north and south walls and returned against the screen. These stalls were not used by the clergy when taking the offices or occupied by a surpliced choir; in some cases they served as pews for the rector's family; but their primary purpose seems to have been the accommodation of communicants at the Eucharist.[1] The provision of special seats for communicants, as distinct from those used by the ordinary congregation, is mentioned in visitation articles; for instance, John Thornborough, Bishop of Bristol, asks in 1603: 'Whether your parson, vicar or minister doth at any time minister the Communion or Sacraments of the Lord's Supper, to any his parishioners or other, sitting or standing, but always humbly kneeling; and not in their several seats, where they usually sit in the church, but kneeling in the seats severally appointed in your several churches for the communicants, to receive the same?'[2]

The communicants remained kneeling in the stalls or at the benches in the chancel till the end of the service. They did not move nearer to the altar when they made their Communion; but the Sacrament was brought to them in the places to which they had gone when they first entered the chancel. The front of the stalls and the forms were sometimes covered with houseling cloths or towels, as they were called; and in 1599 St. Margaret's, Westminster, bought a long diaper tablecloth 'to make two towels for the communicants'.[3]

[1] Chancel stalls of this period may be seen in Co. Durham at Brancepeth, where they were put up by Cosin between 1626 and the Civil War, and at Ryton, where they are Jacobean; also at Messing, Essex, c. 1640; Passenham, Northamptonshire, c. 1626. The Ryton stall ends have carved figures of the two last Prince-Bishops of Durham, Shute Barrington and William Van Mildert. They are the work of some local craftsman and date from about the eighteen-thirties.

[2] *Ritual Report*, p. 440b; cf. p. 523b for a similar question in visitation articles for the Archdeaconry of Berkshire in 1631. In the south-east corner of Rug Chapel, Corwen, Merionethshire, which was built in 1637, is a canopied pew, said to have been intended as a special pew for communicants or houseling pew, as a communicants' pew was sometimes called; but some Welsh antiquaries say it is an ordinary manorial pew. (*Arch. Camb.*, lxxvi, pp. 423–5.)

[3] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times*, p. 26; cf. p. 31 for an entry under 1617 relating to the buying of 'twenty yards of diaper towelling for the desks'. For some other references to houseling cloths, see *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Edmund and St. Thomas, Sarum*, p. 374, and *Surtees Society*, lxxxiv, p. 141. The practice of covering the front of the chancel seating at Deerhurst with houseling cloths was only given up quite recently. At Shelsley Beauchamp, Wor-

Text books on church furniture usually ascribe the seating of communicants in the chancel to Puritan influences. But the practice was not specifically Puritan in origin, though during the altar controversy Puritans more than anyone else struggled for its retention. The arrangement was the normal setting for a parochial Eucharist under Elizabeth and James I. It is often said that the chancel seats were put up by Puritan-minded congregations so that they could receive Communion sitting. Many Puritans certainly did receive Communion sitting; and the ecclesiastical authorities tried to stop the abuse. But seats were not put round the chancel to encourage this practice. They were used by the ordinary churchfolk of the day; here they knelt after they had entered the chancel at the Offertory; here they remained kneeling while the priest brought them the Sacrament. They were not conscious of adopting a practice that was in any way unusual, puritanical or disloyal to the mind of the Church. To them it seemed no doubt fully in accordance with the ecclesiastical law and the liturgical ideals of the Prayer Book.

This method of arranging chancels owed its popularity to certain practical advantages, which can be appreciated even to-day, once it is recognized that an altar need not always stand at the upper end of a chancel with its shorter ends north and south. An altar when it stood table-wise at the lower end of the chancel, enabled a large number of communicants to kneel round it; they could hear the celebrant easily and follow the course of the Eucharistic action. If the chancel was too small to hold them all, those who were kneeling at the eastern end of the nave could still take an active part in the service. The arrangement witnessed to the corporate nature of Eucharistic worship. There was a visible gathering of the Body of Christ round the altar, to be made one with the sacrifice of its head and to be fed with the Bread of Life. The Elizabethan age succeeded in placing the altar in the middle of the communicants. It may be thought that the arrangement would have been more seemly had the altar been allowed to stand altar-wise in the middle of the chancel. But Elizabethan communion tables, modelled on late

cestershire, a practice akin to the use of the houseling cloth survived till the beginning of this century; a few old ladies when they knelt to make their Communion would spread a clean handkerchief on the rails, a practice passed on to them by their mothers. The use of houseling cloths at Wimborne Minster, Dorset, and Much Wenlock, Shropshire, has continued unbroken since the Reformation.

medieval high altars, were frequently long structures. If they had stood altar-wise in the middle of the chancel, there would in some cases have been insufficient room for the people to get past the altar to the upper end. The table-wise position was found in practice to be most convenient. Some doubtless preferred it because it reminded them of the Upper Room at the Last Supper, and its unlikeness to the medieval position was thought to be a help in eradicating from the minds of the faithful the conception of Eucharistic worship, which the Church was supposed to have discarded at the Reformation.

In the Chapel Royal, on the other hand, and in an episcopal chapel like that of Andrewes, the altar stood permanently against the east wall and was not moved for the Eucharist. In such places, the congregation remained kneeling in their ordinary seats all through the service and approached the altar only for the act of Communion. An eye-witness's account of Elizabeth's Easter Communion in 1593, describes how at the Offertory she left her box or traverse, as it was called, and made her offering before the altar; she then returned to her box till the moment of Communion, when 'she presented herself before the Lord's table' and knelt at a faldstool. While she received Communion, the stool was covered with a houseling cloth, the ends of which were held up by four earls. The queen's devotion was most impressive, and when the chalice was placed in her hands she wrapped the houseling cloth round the base.[1]

2. *The Disadvantages of the Pre-Laudian Altar*

During the course of James I's reign, when the Church had acquired under the leadership of Archbishop Bancroft a greater sense of definiteness and cohesion, churchmen began to realize that the current method of arranging the communicants and placing the altar had certain serious disadvantages. In days when churches

[1] *The Old Cheque Book, or Book of Remembrance, of the Chapel Royal*, pp. 150–1. This may not always have been the custom in the Chapel Royal. William Prynne, *A quench-Coale* (1637), pp. 161–2, says that he was once present at a Communion service in the Chapel Royal when Charles I was Prince of Wales; the table was placed in the middle, the communicants sat round in the seats, and the desks in front were covered with houseling cloths. Prynne does not say whether the congregation knelt or sat actually to receive Communion. Presumably they knelt; if they had sat, Prynne would have been sure to have said so, as he himself was much in favour of receiving Communion sitting, and wanted the rubric in the Prayer Book altered accordingly.

had to serve not only as places of worship but often as schools and parish halls, an altar lying in the middle of the chancel or at the top of the nave was a tempting thing for anyone to use who happened to want a table. Although altar rails were not unknown under Elizabeth, as a rule an altar was quite unprotected.[1] Churchwardens found it convenient to sit round when making up their accounts; children, if they were taught in the church, used it to write at; workmen put their clothes and tools on it; animals could easily befoul it. No doubt this way of treating altars was due more to thoughtlessness than intentional irreverence! A careless treatment of altars has not been peculiar to England. Pugin, for instance, had bitter complaints about the way his co-religionists in Italy treated their altars.[2]

The classic instance of the abuses that could happen when the altar was unprotected occurred on Christmas Day, 1630, at Tadlow in Cambridgeshire. During the sermon a dog stole the bread placed on the altar for the Eucharist; and since it was impossible to procure that day 'the best and purest wheat bread' ordered by the rubric, there was no celebration. Irreverent and careless behaviour towards the altar was encouraged by the Puritans who disliked the attribution of particular sanctity to material objects and special places. When the Eucharist was rarely celebrated more than once a month, and often only once a quarter, it was easy for people to forget the real purpose of the altar and the reverence which is its due.

An early sign of a changing attitude towards the altar appears in Archbishop Abbott's metropolitan visitation articles of 1616. He asks if out of divine service the altar is so used, 'as is not agreeable to the holy use of it; and by sitting on it, and by throwing hats on it, writing on it, or is it abused to other profaner uses?'[3] By degrees churchmen were coming to see that the altar had to be set up in a place which was not only convenient for the celebrant and com-

[1] The churchwardens' accounts of Hawkshurst, Kent, contain a reference to the making of rails about the place of the communion table in 1574 (*Arch. Cant.*, v, p. 73). In some cases Elizabethan and Jacobean rails were inserted as a substitute for a screen to divide the communion place from the rest of the church. See Cox and Harvey, *English Church Furniture* (1907), p. 18, for instances of the supposed use of altar rails under Elizabeth; but the examples given are almost certainly later than Elizabeth's reign. See, however, the case mentioned below, p. 122, of St. Giles's, Cripplegate.

[2] *A Treatise on Rood Screens and Rood-lofts*, p. 12.

[3] *Ritual Report*, p. 470b. A similar question occurs in many episcopal visitation articles between 1616 and the Civil War, notably those of Laud, Overall, Davenant, Williams, and Wren (ibid., pp. 481b, 488a, 500a, 551a, 557b).

municants, but also one where it was less tempting to use it as an ordinary table. The altar place had to show the meaning and significance of the holy table, and suggest to the parishioners that it was a piece of furniture which should be treated with reverence and devotion.

There were disadvantages in a mode of Communion which allowed the people to kneel close round the altar and the priest to go to them, wherever they were kneeling, to administer the Sacrament; especially was this the case when the Puritan-minded, as frequently happened, refused to enter the chancel at all and insisted that Communion should be given to them in their seats in the nave. The disadvantages are very forcibly stated in the reply which Bishop Matthew Wren made to the twenty-four articles of impeachment drawn up against him in 1641 by the House of Commons, and also in a pamphlet entitled Τὸ πρέπον εὐχαριστικὸν, *i.e. Communion Comelinesse*, published in 1641. The author of this pamphlet was an exemplary parish priest, Ephraim Udall, the rector of St. Augustine's, Old Change, in the City of London. He was noted for his sermons on preparation for Communion; his churchmanship was not of the Laudian type; but he and his invalid wife suffered at the hands of the London mob for their loyalty to Charles I.[1]

The chief argument which Matthew Wren and Udall bring against the setting-up of an unprotected altar in the chancel or nave and the carrying of the Sacrament round to the communicants when they are kneeling all over the church, are the confusion and irreverence which become almost unavoidable. When large numbers of people were kneeling round an unprotected altar, they were likely to push against it and even upset it; and during epidemics Udall was afraid that the chalice might become infected from the proximity of a large number of people. Accidents often happened to the Sacrament during the actual administration. When the clergy communicated people they had to reach and stretch, and often they found it difficult to get past people in the pews; on great festivals the going up and down the church was physically very exhausting and it prevented them from preserving much of a spirit of recollection.

The high pews added to the disadvantages of this method of Communion; they encouraged uninstructed people to behave ir-

[1] Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus* (1685), pp. 152–4.

reverently, especially when the actual administration took a long time; and they enabled those who had scruples about kneeling for Communion to receive sitting without attracting notice. When the communicants were in the nave the pews prevented them from following the service at the altar; often they saw and heard nothing till the celebrant came to their seats with the Sacrament. To quote Udall's words: 'In high and scattered pews, where we are separated so, that we can neither see, nor hear one the other, this Communion seems to be rent and divided into so many single societies of twos and threes, as there be pewfulls in the church, more like so many private Masses and Houselings, than one Communion.'[1] The point Udall makes is particularly apposite when one remembers that many high square pews developed out of the medieval chantry chapels; the Puritans who owned them still retained the spiritual individualism of their medieval ancestors.

3. The Laudian Reformation

The dissatisfaction which so many felt on these grounds with what had become the accepted method of placing the altar and of giving Communion, led to the famous controversy on altars which played such a large part in the life of Laud. It is important to remember that the dissatisfaction was not only felt by those who shared Laud's views; other groups in the Church, as Udall's pamphlet shows, felt that all was not well with the existing habits of Eucharistic worship. The controversy was not one between the Laudian party, anxious for reform, and the conservative elements in the Church, who abetted by the Puritans wished to retain the arrangements which had grown up under Elizabeth. The controversy was to a large extent between two parties who both saw that some change was necessary but disagreed over what form it should take. The Laudian party, in spite of their persistent claim to be only carrying out the law as it was fixed at the Elizabethan Settlement, were in favour of changes which radically altered the appearance of the chancels and the method of giving Communion. Their opponents saw the need for some changes; but they thought the need could be met by a modification of the existing arrangements.

[1] *Parentalia*, p. 83; Udall, *Communion Comelinesse*, pp. 4–5, 8–13.

This party shades off into the conservatives, men like William Prynne, who saw no need of any change at all. The leader of the important party in favour of moderate reform was John Williams, from 1621–41 Bishop of Lincoln, and from 1641 Archbishop of York.[1] Doubts have often been cast on the sincerity of Williams in the altar controversy; and it is not impossible that he joined in it primarily out of personal hostility to Laud, whom he suspected of ousting him from the post of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, which he held in the last years of James I's reign. But whatever his motives, Williams was a person of great ability, and he raised certain points about the position of altars in parish churches which are of permanent importance.

The first step in the way of effecting a reform was taken by Laud himself; as Dean of Gloucester he persuaded the chapter in 1616–17 to place the altar at the upper end of the choir, close under the east wall and upon the uppermost steps; an action which so annoyed the Bishop of Gloucester, Miles Smith, that he is said never to have entered his cathedral again.[2] But even when the altar had been moved to the east end, the abuses which the Laudian party wanted to stop were just as likely to re-occur; so the device was adopted of surrounding the altar with a fixed wooden rail with gates in the front or side. The idea of railing the altar in this way was not an invention of Laudian churchmen; rails were being widely used on the Continent at the time as a substitute for chancel screens, which had no place in the baroque conception of a church; and they were put up just as in England to protect the altar from irreverent treatment.[3] How far the use of altar rails in England was suggested by

[1] Williams lived only a few months in Yorkshire; the last nine years of his life were spent in North Wales, intermittently fighting for Charles I. He eventually made his peace with the Parliament, dying in 1650, and his tomb can be seen at Llandegai, Carnarvonshire.

[2] Laud, *Works*, iv, pp. 233–4. Laud set an example which was gradually followed in a number of parish churches and cathedrals. About 1617 Richard Hunt, Dean of Durham, set up a rose-coloured marble altar in his cathedral against the Neville screen, instead of a wooden table standing table-wise in the middle of the chancel. The stone altar is still preserved; it is in the form of a table with six legs, and cost two hundred pounds. The legs were once adorned with cherubim's heads but these were destroyed by the Scottish troops in the Civil War. The altar, in spite of its beautiful colouring, was not left bare; when Sir William Brereton visited Durham in 1635, he found that it was covered with 'a stately cloth of cloth of gold' (*Surtees Society*, cxxiv, p. 13). A marble altar in the form of a table with four legs was set up in Worcester Cathedral in 1635.

[3] Altar rails are first specifically mentioned by St. Carlo Borromeo in the constitutions of his fourth Provincial Synod of Milan, held in 1576. Other Provincial Synods in the Church of Rome followed his example and ordered them to be erected; and a Synod

what was being done abroad it is impossible to say; possibly not very much, since in some churches in England they had been in use through most of Elizabeth's reign; but the number cannot have been many, since altars were so seldom at the east end.[1] In advocating the use of rails, the Laudian party were merely encouraging a practice which had been valued by a few parishes for a number of years. For instance, the parishioners of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, in a petition to the House of Commons in 1641 pleaded that their altar rails might not be removed, since they had been in existence for nearly eighty years, and had proved useful, decent, and convenient for the administration of the Sacrament.[2] After 1617 parishes not only began to place their altars permanently against the east wall, but to fence them as well with a rail.[3] The rails with which Laudian churchmen liked to protect their altars were of the type which ran right across the chancel from the north to the south side; rails with their ends turned in to join the east wall only became fashionable after the Restoration.

The rails not only protected the altar; they suggested a new method of giving Communion which would relieve the clergy from carrying the Sacrament up and down the church. The Laudian clergy adopted the practice of making the communicants kneel at the rails instead of waiting in their seats for the clergy to come round to them with the Sacrament. According to both Laud and Matthew Wren the practice was not wholly new as far as some parishes were concerned; as we have seen it had been in existence at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, for a number of years, where, according to Laud, two thousand communicants were given Communion 'with marvellous decency and ease'.[4] In 1633 there was some trouble

---

of Cologne in 1616 specifically mentioned that they were to prevent dogs from befouling the altar—*Ne canes antependia seu pallia foedent*. This should be compared with a question in Montague's visitation articles for the diocese of Norwich in 1638: 'Is your communion table enclosed, and ranged about with a rail of joiners and turners work, close enough to keep out dogs from going in and profaning that holy place, from pissing against it or worse?' (Braun, *Der Christliche Altar*, ii, pp. 654–5; *Constitutiones et Decreta Sex Provincialium Synodorum Mediolanensium* (Brescia, 1603), p. 439; *Ritual Report*, p. 580b.)

[1] v.s.p. 109.

[2] John Nalson, *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State* (1683), ii, p. 491.

[3] For instances see J. F. Nicholls and J. Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, p. 222, and John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631), p. 821.

[4] Laud, *Works*, v, p. 360; cf. *Parentalia*, p. 84, where Wren instances All Hallows', Barking, and St. Michael's Coslany, Norwich, as churches where this method of giving Communion had long been in use.

over the administration of Communion at Crayford in Kent; and Archbishop Abbott made the following order:

'that the parishioners and inhabitants of the said parish of Crayford, and others intending hereafter to receive the Holy Communion there, shall repair unto the two ascents, or foot paces in the chancel before the communion table, and there mats being laid upon the said two ascents, or foot paces, to kneel upon, and mats being also laid on either side above the said steps to kneel upon, (if by reason of the number of communicants it seem requisite, the two ascents or foot paces being first filled), they shall in decent and reverent manner humbly kneeling upon their knees on the said two ascents or foot paces, receive the Holy Communion and Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and after the first company hath received the same, they to return to their seats and places in the said church; and to give way for a second company to receive in like manner; and the second, after they have received in like manner, to return and give way for a third company, and the third to the fourth, and so successively, until all the communicants there have received the Holy Communion in manner and time aforesaid.'[1]

The order is interesting in a number of ways. In spite of his Puritanism Archbishop Abbott is ordering the Laudian method of giving Communion to be adopted. There are no rails; but on the steps which run right across the chancel, and in the space between the top of the second step and the east end, the communicants are to come and kneel in turn. No mention is made of them having assembled in the chancel previously at the Offertory; and it is possible that in some of the churches which adopted the Laudian reforms the communicants knelt in their places in the nave and only came up to the rails as they do to-day after the Prayer of Consecration. Charles I much disliked the Sacrament being carried about the church, though he realized that it was allowed by the canons. He thought the practice encouraged people to receive Communion sitting, and he saw how difficult it was in many cases for the clergy to get past people in the pews.[2] It is possible that the present custom of receiving at

[1] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, ii, pp. 175–6. 'Foot pace' is here used in the technical seventeenth-century sense of a step running right across the chancel.

[2] See a letter of Laud to Williams in Laud, *Works*, vi, p. 350.

the rails is something the Church owes largely to Charles I's sense of what was reverent and seemly in Christian worship.

In two places in particular, the first stages in the Laudian reform produced trouble and opposition, and that was at Durham and Grantham. At Durham a party in the chapter led by Cosin and his friend, Dr. Francis Burgoyne, who was also Vicar of Bishopwearmouth, had introduced into the cathedral services the ceremonial beloved of Laudian churchmen, and at Brancepeth and Bishopwearmouth, Cosin and Burgoyne had placed the altar at the east end.[1] Their innovations both in the cathedral and the diocese were attacked by Peter Smart, another member of the chapter, in a sermon preached in July 1628. The sermon is important as an exposition of the liturgical ideas of the conservative section in the Church; and much of what Smart said was to be repeated later by Prynne. Smart received short shrift at the hands of the other members of the chapter for his attacks on their ritualistic activities; they took proceedings against him in the Court of High Commission with the result that he was deprived of his stall.

The Grantham case[2] is of some importance as it provided Williams, in whose diocese Grantham was, with an opportunity of stating his views on the Laudian reforms. The altar at Grantham stood in what was then the normal place, table-wise at the lower end of the chancel. About June or July 1627 the vicar,[3] Peter Titley, who was on bad terms with the leading people of the town, moved the altar to a permanent position under the east wall, altar-wise; from here he read Altar Prayers on Sunday. When some of the congregation protested against the changes, the vicar is reported to have exclaimed 'that he cared not what they did with their old trestle, for he would build him an altar of stone, at his own charge, and would fix it in the old altar place, and would never officiate upon any other'. A party headed by the alderman, a person who held the same position in the town as the mayor of the present day,

[1] The present wooden altar at Brancepeth is the one set up by Cosin; the altar which Burgoyne set up at Bishopwearmouth was a grave slab set on a solid stone base.

[2] This account of the Grantham case is taken from John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata* (1693), ii, pp. 99–110; Peter Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (ed. 1668), pp. 170–1; Williams, *The Holy Table, Name and Thing* (1637), pp. 5–12; *A. A. S. Reports and Papers*, xiii, pp. 46–61.

[3] Actually there were two vicars in the one church at Grantham, each holding a mediety, and known as *Vicarius Borealis* and *Vicarius Australis*. Titley was *Vicarius Australis*; the other vicar played no part in the controversy.

now tried to move the altar back to its old position; but as usually happens in affairs of this kind, Titley was not alone; he had a number of supporters and sympathizers who felt that the respectable Puritanism of the corporation should not be allowed to dominate the parish life. The vicar's friends resisted the attempt of the alderman and his party to move the altar; a brawl took place in the church. The alderman as an aggrieved parishioner complained to the bishop.

Williams acted with commendable speed and vigour; he sent a special message to the effect that the altar was not to be touched by either party till he himself should pass through Grantham on his next visit to Lincoln; and Titley was told in the meantime not to set up anything in the church or chancel. The alderman and his party were not content with this interim ruling, and decided to state their case in person to the bishop at his palace at Buckden in Huntingdonshire. Here Williams lived in great splendour, restoring the house and laying out the gardens, which contemporaries compared to those of Alcinous. Williams received the party in the great hall of the palace; they stated their case, particularly complaining that with the altar at the east end only a twenty-fourth part of the congregation could hear and see the minister when he was officiating at it. While this was going on, Titley himself arrived. After letting him state his side of the story the bishop left both parties to enjoy the very good supper which he had provided, and then to sleep in the great hall, while he departed to his study to write his decision. It took him all night; his secretary was seen to fetch Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* from the hall, and to go over to the church to borrow the parish copy of Bishop Jewel's works. The visitors left the next morning, carrying with them the bishop's decision in a letter to the alderman and in a document known as *The Letter to the Vicar of Grantham.*[1]

The letter to the alderman ruled that outside the time of divine service the altar was to stand decently covered against the east wall of the chancel, not altar-wise, but table-wise.[2] For Altar Prayers or

[1] It is printed in Peter Heylin, *A Coale from the Altar* (1637), pp. 67–78; and John Williams, *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*, pp. 12–21.

[2] A few examples of the altar occupying this position at the east end remained till well past the middle of the nineteenth century, e.g., Ozleworth, Gloucestershire, and several places in North Wales: Llantrisant, Anglesey; Llanfaglan, Llangybi, Llanharmon, Llanllyfni, Carnarvonshire (*Arch. Camb.*, v, 17, pp. 104, 317; J. S. Howson, '*Before the Table*' (1875), pp. 43, 167; Hughes and North, *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 248). The Laudian altar at Llansilin, Denbighshire, has one end uncarved, which may

the Eucharist the churchwardens were ordered to make the clerk or sexton move the altar 'either to the place where it stood before or any other place in the church or chancel, where the minister may be most audibly heard of the whole congregation.' The vicar accepted the bishop's ruling chiefly, according to Williams's own account, as a result of having seen the episcopal chapel at Buckden. It was all a keen Laudian could desire. The altar was at the east end and furnished with fine plate and ornaments, said to be better than any others in the kingdom except those in the Chapel Royal. In the east window was the Crucifixion with Our Lady and St. John, surrounded by the other apostles; on the walls were goodly pictures, which struck the beholders 'with thoughts of piety and devotion at their entrance into so holy a place'.[1] The liturgy was offered with a dignity which matched the surroundings; the offices were sung each day; and the bishop maintained a very fine choir. He often took the tenor part himself.

The point at issue in the controversy over the altar in Grantham Church, was practical and not theological. The churchwardens did not complain of Titley's changes because they were thought to be popish, but because they took the altar so far from the congregation that few could hear the minister when he officiated at it in its new position. Williams based his decision on practical grounds; the altar is to be placed where the minister can best be heard. In allowing the churchwardens to decide which was the most convenient part of the church for the altar and declaring that their decision was to be final, he made it possible in each case for local peculiarities of plan to be taken into account; not abstract principle, but the actual ground plan of each church was to determine the position of the altar.[2]

indicate that it was originally meant to stand at right angles to the east wall (*Arch. Camb.*, lxxviii, p. 394). Williams's nine years' residence in North Wales at the end of his life may have encouraged the custom in these parts. The altar in St. Mary-le-Port, Bristol, was placed table-wise against the east wall up to the time that the church was destroyed by enemy action in 1940.

[1] John Pocklington, *Altare Christianum* (1637), p. 87.

[2] Williams pursued much the same policy at St. Martin's, Leicester. In 1633 the chancel of the church, which had hitherto been used as a library, was restored to its proper use. It had fair doors leading into the nave and steps at the upper end for the communion table to stand on. But when the vicar and others certified that the previous position of the altar in the nave was far more suitable for the Eucharist, 'by reason of the more capacity to receive communicants, and the more audibleness of the minister's voice, and also the proximity to the place where morning and evening prayers were appointed to be said,' Williams ordered that the altar was to be set up in the nave whenever the Eucharist was celebrated (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1633–4), ccxli, 18; ccxlvi, 42).

Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in August 1633, and was now in a position to extend the reforms, which his party had been trying out for the past fifteen years, to the whole Church and to make them a definite part of its ritual law. But first a legal difficulty had to be cleared up. Neither the Prayer Book of 1559, nor the Elizabethan Injunction, nor Canon LXXXII of 1604 said who was to decide which was the most convenient part of the church for the altar to stand when it was moved down from the upper end of the chancel. Williams had acted on the assumption that the decision rested with the churchwardens and parishioners. If this was the case, any reforms which Laud wanted to effect could be prevented by churchwardens who preferred the old ways. A successful reform depended on the churchwardens being deprived of the right of deciding where the table was to stand during the Communion. Laud got his opportunity in November 1633. The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's acting as the ordinary, had directed that the altar in the church of St. Gregory-by-St. Paul's should be placed permanently against the east wall. Five aggrieved parishioners appealed against the order to the Court of Arches on the ground that both the rubric in the Prayer Book and Canon LXXXII allowed the altar to stand in any part of the church which happened to be most convenient. Laud did not trust the Dean of Arches to give the decision he wanted and had the case discussed before the Privy Council. Charles I approved of what the chapter had done and ordered the Dean of Arches to confirm it. In giving this direction the king declared that the liberty allowed in the Prayer Book and the Canon of setting up the altar in the most convenient place, did not mean that this liberty was left 'to the discretion of the parish, much less to the particular fancy of any homourous person, but to the judgement of the ordinary, to whose place and function it doth properly belong to give direction in that point, both for the thing itself, and the time when, and how long, as he may find cause'.[1] The Prayer Book rubric allowed the ordinary to determine in cases of doubt where the reading desk was to be placed; by this decision the position of the altar during the Communion now also rests with the ordinary.

The way was clear for Laud to begin his reforms on a large

[1] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, ii, pp. 185–7.

scale; and this he proceeded to do by way of a metropolitical visitation of the whole province; the Archbishop of York carrying out one in the northern province at the same time. The visitation in the province of Canterbury was entrusted to Sir Nathaniel Brent, the vicar-general, and began in 1634. The visitation articles are concerned with a great many more things than the position of the altar. In fact, there is very little in them about the altar, and the articles differed little from those which bishops of Laudian views had been issuing for the previous ten or fifteen years. But the vicar-general was given private instructions to order all churchwardens 'to place the communion table under the eastern wall of the chancel, where formerly the altar stood; to set a decent rail before it to avoid profaneness; and at the rail the communicants to receive the blessed sacrament'.[1] Brent gave a general order for these directions to be carried out in every place in which he held a visitation. For instance, in his account of the metropolitical visitation of the diocese of London in February 1636/7, he describes how 'in the parish church of Edmonton a fair monument is set at the upper end of the chancel, which I have ordered to be taken down without delay, and the communion table to be set in the place of it, with a comely rail about it'.[2]

The bishops were left with the task of seeing that the vicar-general's orders were carried out; and the three elements in the Laudian reform—the altar at the east end, the rails, the communicants kneeling at the rail to receive the Sacrament—play an important part in visitation articles and injunctions after 1634.[3] There

[1] Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 285.

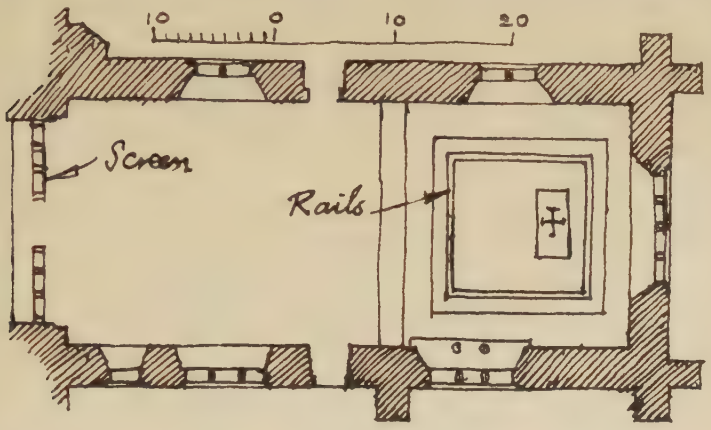
[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1636–7), cccli, 100. The reports on this visitation which Brent made from time to time to the archbishop throw interesting sidelights on the life of the church at the time. At Uttoxeter there was an old gentleman, reputed to have been fourteen years old when King Henry VIII died, who had covered the walls of the chancel with verses 'in commendation of divers learned divines whom he had heard preach in that church'. He was much offended when the vicar-general ordered them to be erased and sentences of scripture written up instead. At Stratford-on-Avon the minister had to be suspended for walking up and down the church preparing his sermon while the service was going on, presumably taken by the curate (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1635), pp. xxxvii, xl).

[3] Brian Duppa, Bishop of Chichester, in his visitation articles of 1638 asks: 'Is your communion table, or altar, strong and fair and decent? Is it according to the practice of the ancient church, upon an ascent at the east end of the chancel, with the ends of it north and south? Is it compassed with an handsome rail to keep it from profanation, according to an order made in the metropolitical visitation?' William Juxon, Bishop of London, has a question about communicants coming to the altar in his visitation articles of 1640: 'The minister standing, as he is appointed at the north side or end of the table, when he prepares to celebrate the holy communion, and

Plate VII

THE WEDDING SERVICE, from an engraving frequently found in editions of the Prayer Book of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The rails are so arranged as to form a special place in front of the altar, where the clergyman can stand when taking a wedding (see pp. 164–5).

was bitter opposition in some quarters. The classical instance is Beckington in Somerset, where the churchwardens for refusing to move the altar to the east end were excommunicated and imprisoned. The authorities were firm and the churchwardens eventually submitted and did public penance.[1] But the attention which the



Plan 32

LYDDINGTON, Rutland. *The plan shows the chancel with the rails round the altar on all four sides, dating from 1635. There is the usual large open space for the communicants east of the screen.*

opposition to Laud has received from historians has obscured the fact that in numerous places the churchwardens willingly set their altars against the east wall and fenced them with what was described as 'a fit and decent rail, made from sound and good timber of the best sort'.[2]

---

calling on those who do intend to communicate, to draw near and take that holy sacrament to their comfort, as it is in the words of the Common Prayer Book, have you any in your parish that keep their seats, and sit still in their places, not drawing near as is commanded by the Church, but looking that the minister should forsake the place of his station, by the Church appointed, to bring it to them?' (*Ritual Report*, pp. 576b, 592b). The visitation articles and injunctions of Bishop Matthew Wren and Bishop Richard Montague contain full directions about the Laudian reforms. (Ibid., pp. 557a, 563, 564b, 565b, 580b; cf. also Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, ii, pp. 201–2.)

[1] *Somerset Record Society*, xliii, pp. 177–87.

[2] Rails which were put up as a result of the archbishop's visitation and still standing in their original position are very rare. The best example of a genuine Laudian altar rail which has never been moved is at Abbey Dore, Herefordshire (Plan 33), put up when Lord Scudamore restored the church in 1634.

The order to receive Communion at the rails was particularly disliked; and here, Laud, and Montague when he was Bishop of Norwich, showed themselves ready to modify the order in practice. In 1637 the people of Welwyn in Hertfordshire complained that they had been refused Communion because they refused to kneel at the rails. They stoutly maintained that it was an ancient and laudable practice for them to assemble on their knees in the body of the chancel and that no law had been made forbidding the practice. They petitioned the archbishop to be allowed to continue to receive Communion kneeling in any part of the chancel; and the archbishop readily consented.[1]

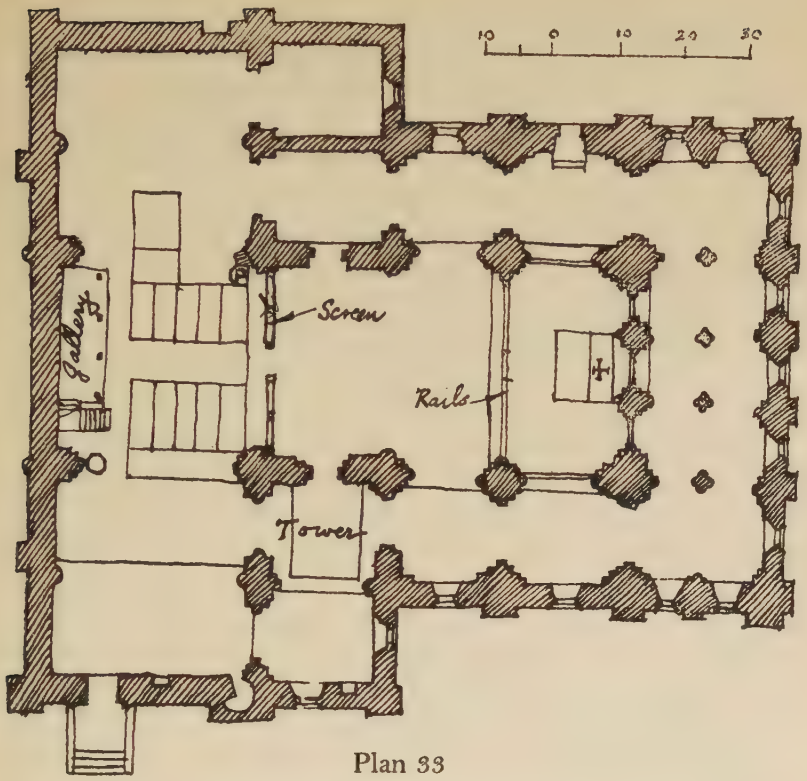
Montague was faced with a similar situation when he succeeded Matthew Wren as Bishop of Norwich in 1638. Wren was an enthusiastic promoter of the practice of kneeling at the rails; and Montague had to face the opposition which his predecessor's enthusiasm had provoked. Very wisely he consulted his clergy in a synod at Ipswich in October 1639, and adopted a course of action which he believed to be in accordance with both policy and antiquity. The communicants were to enter the chancel between the Exhortation and Invitation; the chancel gates were to be closed and to remain closed till after the Blessing. Communicants were to kneel in rows in the chancel, and sufficient space was to be left between each person to enable the clergy to pass easily with the paten and chalice. This is merely the traditional Elizabethan method of administration, but with the altar placed at the east end instead of the middle of the chancel.[2]

Williams tried to claim exemption from the metropolitical visitation; but Laud made good his right and Williams found himself compelled to enforce directions about the position of the altar, which were quite contrary to those which he had given for the churches at Grantham and Leicester. Williams was sensitive to the dignity surrounding divine worship and disliked the abuses which resulted from placing an altar unprotected in any part of the church that happened to be convenient; though he realized how much the practice made for congregational worship.[3] In order to comply with

[1] Laud, *Works*, vi, pp. 478–9, footnote.

[2] Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 366; Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, pp. 98–100. For its continuance after the Restoration, v.i.p. 154, footnote.

[3] Cf. a letter of Williams to Laud, in Laud, *Works*, vi, p. 477.



Plan 33

ABBEY DORE, Herefordshire. *A Cistercian Abbey which fell into disuse at the Reformation and was largely rebuilt and entirely refurnished under the architect and military engineer, John Abel (1577–1674) at the expense of John 1st Viscount Scudamore, who gave it to Abbey Dore as its parish church. It was re-consecrated in* 1634 *by Dr. Theophilus Field, Bishop of St. David's, acting by commission from Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Hereford. The plan shows the arrangement at this date, but no evidence for the reading pew has been found: it may have stood west of the pulpit. The altar is the old stone* mensa *refixed on stone columns. The whole arrangement is of great interest in that the pews, pulpit, and music gallery are all set west of the screen, leaving the chancel empty for Communion services. This is in direct opposition to more modern ideas, and the old arrangement has since been changed, though the west gallery remains.*

the spirit of the Laudian reforms and yet preserve what he felt was best in the old way, he gave orders that in his diocese the altar was still to remain in the middle or lower end of the chancel, but it was to be railed on all four sides.[1] The order represents an alternative attempt, and a very important one, to deal with the disadvantages of the traditional method of arranging the chancel and giving Communion. Udall particularly advocates this type of rail in his pamphlet *Communion Comelinesse*, and claims that he had employed it in his own church for thirty years; though the rails he had in mind were to be movable, put up for each celebration and then afterwards removed.[2] He pointed out that a rail which surrounded the altar on all four sides still enabled the communicants to kneel round 'and behold the sacramental rites and actions about them at the table', while the rail prevented the altar itself 'being thrust and tumbled by the crowd'; but the rail was only to be used for the sake of comeliness and convenience in the administration of Communion, and not because of any particular holiness attaching to the altar itself.[3]

[1] Lyddington, Rutland (Plan 32) still has rails surrounding the altar on four sides and put up in obedience to Williams's directions; they date from 1635, and have both the date and the initials of the vicar and churchwardens carved on the gate and corner-posts. Lyddington at this period was in the diocese of Lincoln.

[2] Cf. H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury* (1825), ii, p. 367, for a reference to temporary railing in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury; in 1603 a workman was paid for setting-up and removing the rail at All Saints-tide and Christmas.

[3] Udall, *Communion Comelinesse*, *passim*; cf. Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 287. The method which Udall says he used in his own church seems to have been somewhat different; he had a rail placed along the inside of the seats in the chancel, so that they could accommodate two rows of communicants round the altar; but there was no rail apparently round the altar itself. He seems to have gone round to the communicants in the back row with the Sacrament in the traditional way. According to Dr. Neale (*A History of Pews* (1843), p. 65), there was in the eighteen-forties still a double rail all round the altar at All Saints, Bristol, and a triple rail at Westbury-on-Trym. Examples of railing, which went round all four sides of the altar and was put up at this time, remained till the last century at Brill, Buckinghamshire; Buckland Monachorum and Ermington, Devonshire; Winchcombe, Gloucestershire. At Brill there was a bench affixed to the east wall of the chancel for the communicants, and the rails round the altar measured eight feet by six feet six inches. At Buckland Monachorum and Ermington the rails were very massive. The altar at Winchcombe was only fenced with a rail on the west side; on the other three sides was a low wainscot or partition. A wainscot, about a yard high, surrounded the altar in the middle of the chancel at Beckington, Somerset, before the Laudian reforms. It should be remembered that the altar inside these rails would in the seventeenth century have invariably stood tablewise. (M. H. Bloxam, *Companion to the Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, iii, pp. 177–8; Morris Fuller, *The Life and Writings of John Davenant* (1897), p. 420, footnote; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S. viii, p. 147; *Somerset Record Society*, xliii, p. 201.)

4. *The Literature of the Laudian Reformation*

In the years 1635–7 all three sections in the Church, those who wanted the altars railed at the east end, those who wanted them to remain at the lower end of the chancel but to be railed, and the conservative section who saw no need of reform, all stated in print the principles which they believed should determine the setting-up of an altar in a church intended for Prayer Book worship; and the chief interest and importance of the altar controversy lies in the principles which each party formulated in support of its case. Owing to the stir made by the events at Beckington, William Piers, Bishop of Bath and Wells, issued a document in 1635 which in seven reasons explained to his diocese why it was better that the communion table should stand against the east wall of the chancel with its ends north and south, rather than table-wise in the middle.[1] Laud himself defended the changes which he was making in a speech delivered before the Star Chamber at the trial of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne in 1637.[2] In order to embarrass the bishops in carrying out the orders made during the metropolitical visitation, Williams allowed his *Letter to the Vicar of Grantham* to be published in pamphlet form. According to Heylin the letter resulted in a considerable stiffening of the opposition to the Laudian reforms, notably in East Anglia.[3] Heylin replied to it on behalf of the Laudian party with a pamphlet *A Coale from the Altar*. This was answered in turn by Williams's *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*, and Prynne's *A quench-Coale*, which takes up a very conservative attitude. *The Holy Table, Name and Thing* is far the most entertaining of all the pamphlets which the controversy produced; Laud even admitted that it contained 'wit, and reading, and scorn enough—more like the doings of a younger master of arts than a bishop.'[4] It was dealt with by two more pamphlets from the Laudian side, Heylin's *Antidotum Lincolniense*, and John Pocklington's *Altare Christianum*. From the theological point of view Heylin's two pamphlets are the ablest. The pamphlet war came to an end in the autumn of 1637 when Laud succeeded in getting Williams imprisoned by the Star Chamber,

[1] *Somerset Record Society*, xliii, pp. 190–1.
[2] *Works*, vi, pp. 41–70.
[3] *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 314.
[4] *Works*, vii, p. 337.

nominally on a charge of suborning witnesses. All the pamphlets are overloaded with patristic references, and with the exception of *The Holy Table, Name and Thing* make wearisome reading; but they constitute an important, even if somewhat incoherent, contribution to the question both of the significance of the altar and of where it should best be placed in a church.

The pamphlets are also concerned with an argument over the correct name in the Church of England for the piece of furniture at which the Eucharist is celebrated. Both sides agreed that it was in actual fact a table. But the Laudians, on the ground that the Eucharist is a sacrifice commemorative of our Lord's passion, thought the words 'priest' and 'altar' might be properly applied to the minister of the Eucharist and the table at which it was celebrated. Williams, though he was inclined to ridicule the Laudian view of the eucharistic sacrifice, thought the table might be called an altar in a secondary and metaphorical sense. They disagreed over what the table was to be called in normal speech. The Laudians wanted it to be usually referred to as the altar; Williams wanted the word 'altar' used very sparingly for fear lest ordinary congregations might forget that Communion was a service in which they were fed with the Body and Blood of Christ.[1]

Both sides in the pamphlets affected great reverence for the Elizabethan Injunction with its order that the communion table should be movable. But the Laudian bishops were determined that it should only be moved into the nave or lower end of the chancel in exceptional circumstances and then only with the permission of the ordinary. In most parishes they intended that the Eucharist should normally be celebrated at a table placed under the east wall with its ends north and south.[2] Williams wanted the altar to be moved into a more central position in the church, at least for every celebration, and probably kept there permanently. The controversy in short was over the position of the altar, whether the east end or the middle of the church was preferable. It was not prima facie concerned with whether the altar should be wood or stone. Neither side paid much attention to the question of material; Williams, for instance,

[1] Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata*, ii, p. 106; Heylin, *A Coale from the Altar*, pp. 13, 34; *Antidotum Lincolniense*, ii, pp. 6, 42; Williams, *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*, pp. 14, 17, 104, 106, 141.

[2] Heylin, *A Coale from the Altar*, p. 50.

spoke of tables being either 'of stone or timber';[1] he may generally have thought in terms of wooden tables, not for any doctrinal reason, but because wooden tables are on the whole easy to move, whereas stone ones are for all practical purposes immovable.

The point is of some importance because in the famous stone altar case of *Faulkner v. Litchfield and Stearn* in 1845, the Dean of Arches, Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, in reviewing the literature of the controversy between Laud and Williams, came to the conclusion that doctrinal reasons determined Williams's advocacy of movable tables. His words were as follows: 'All these instances to which I have referred, tend to show that the understanding of all persons, who were called to act on these Injunctions,[2] was, that the table was no longer to remain immovably fixed, but that, for the purpose of removing the superstition connected with the popish Mass, it was to be movable, as the occasion might require.'[3] On these grounds the judge ordered the fixed stone altar in St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge, which was the occasion of the law suit, to be taken down; and on the grounds of this judgement stone altars have in subsequent cases been declared illegal in the Church of England. The judge rightly saw that at the Reformation the Church substituted movable for fixed altars; but he complicated the whole question by making it one of doctrinal principle and by laying down that fixed altars are necessarily of stone and movable ones of wood.[4] It is true that in the seventeenth century some churchmen valued a movable table as symbolic of what they thought was a purified eucharistic theology, and occasionally even emphasized the fact that it was wood. But the vast majority of churchmen preferred a wooden table for the practical reason that it could be moved into any part of the church which was most convenient for the celebrant and communicants. In our ecclesiastical law on the altar as it is laid down in the rubric of the Prayer Book, the Royal Injunction of 1559 and Canon LXXXII, the primary consideration is not the inculcation of any specific eucharistic theology or the provision of tables of any specific material, but practical convenience. Canon LXXXII provides in every church for an altar which is in the form of a movable wooden

[1] *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*, p. 16. Cf. a question in the visitation articles of Montague for the diocese of Norwich, 1638, 'Is your communion table or altar, of stone, wainscot, joyners work, strong, fair and decent?' (*Ritual Report*, p. 580b.)

[2] I.e., of 1559. [3] *Robertson*, 184 at p. 251. [4] Ibid., p. 224.

table, so that the parishioners might be able to kneel round it as one family for the Eucharist. Williams christens the movable table, ordered by the Canon, a Daedalus altar, which 'like Daedalus his engines moves and removes from place to place, and that by the inward wheels of the Church canons'.[1] Provided an altar is set in such a position that it fulfils the requirements of the Prayer Book and Canon there seems no reason why it should not be a table of stone instead of wood, as indeed it was at this period in at least two cathedrals[2] and a fair number of churches; and in a church which is so planned that all the congregation can see and hear the celebrant at the east end, or which has a choir large enough to contain all the congregation, there seems no reason, apart from Sir Herbert Jenner Fust's judgement, why a stone table should not be fixed. When, for instance, Lord Scudamore restored the monastic church of Abbey Dore (Plan 33) in 1634, he refixed the medieval stone *mensa* on three columns at the east end of the presbytery; but Abbey Dore is a very small village and all the communicants could be accommodated in the presbytery from the Offertory and follow what was happening at the altar.

5. *The Principles of the Laudian School*

An examination of the writings of the Laudian party in this controversy shows that they had worked out three principles which they believed should be taken into account in considering the best place for the altar in a parish church. The principles are of a historical, practical, and theological nature; and taken in conjunction they point to the east end as the best normal place for the altar.

Laud and his supporters felt that history and tradition should play a part in determining where the altar was to stand. From time immemorial in England it had stood against the east wall or at the upper end of the chancel. They admitted that since the Reformation its usual place in parish churches had been the nave or west end of the chancel; but the position was an innovation and not expressive

[1] *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*, p. 19; Pocklington, *Altare Christianum*, p. 86, takes up this remark, and declares that nobody has the right 'to make a Daedalus engine of the Lord's table, and so set the Church upon wheels, and thereby to run it out of the pious, and reverend practice of holy and unreproved antiquity,' i.e., by moving it from the upper end of the church.

[2] Durham and Worcester, v.s.p. 121, footnote.

of the true Anglican position about the altar. This had been preserved in a few cathedrals and the Chapel Royal where the altar had never been moved from the east end. Heylin says 'the ancient orders of the Church of England have been best preserved in the chapels of the king's majesty, and the cathedrals of this kingdom'.[1] The Chapels Royal were the best interpreters of the ecclesiastical law; collegiate and cathedral churches 'the best observers of the form and order of God's public service'.[2] Decency and order demanded that in each diocese parish churches should model their arrangements on those of the cathedral; in the document in which Piers, Bishop of Bath and Wells, explained the Laudian reforms to his diocese, he gave as the last of his seven reasons in favour of placing the altar at the east end: 'It is fit the daughters should be like their mother; the parochial churches should be like the cathedral churches, that so there may be uniformity in this respect in every church.'[3] To Heylin it was particularly fitting that parish churches should follow the example of the Chapel Royal; for Charles I had taken great pains to see that things in his chapel were 'done according to the prescript of the public liturgy, and ancient usage of this Church'; here the ceremonial formed a pattern for his people.[4] In the Chapel Royal under Charles I, the Anglican liturgy was seen at its best. Readers of *John Inglesant* will remember how Shorthouse's hero was greatly moved by a solemn celebration of the Eucharist at Whitehall with 'the beautiful chapel, the high altar on which candles were burning, the Bishops and Dean of the chapel in their copes, the brilliant crowd of courtiers, the King—devout and stately—alone before the altar, the exquisite music, and the singing of the king's choir, which was not surpassed in Rome itself'. The Laudian divines dreamt of a beautiful worship spreading from the Chapel Royal, where the best in Anglicanism had been preserved in the upheavals of the Reformation, by way of cathedrals to every parish church in the kingdom; much as Charlemagne's chapel was the model for the liturgy in the churches of the Frankish empire.

They realized that practical considerations had to be taken into account in placing the altar; and they were careful to show that an altar against the east wall was not only more traditional than one

[1] *A Coale from the Altar*, pp. 26–7. [2] Ibid., p. 52.
[3] *Somerset Record Society*, xliii, p. 191; cf. Laud, *Works*, vi, p. 59.
[4] *Antidotum Lincolniense*, Epistle Dedicatory.

placed in the middle of the chancel, but also practically more convenient. The east end of the chancel, even a hundred years after the Reformation, was still by tradition the most sacred part of the church; and an altar placed there helped people to realize its sacred character and the supreme importance of the Blessed Sacrament.[1] An altar at the east end took up much less room than when it was standing lower down the chancel, and so allowed the communicants when they came into the chancel more kneeling space. The celebrant had more room to move about and was not incommoded by a multitude of people kneeling close to him. If the altar was placed on steps or ascents, and a Laudian altar generally was, he could be heard better than if he was standing on a level with his people in the middle of the chancel.[2]

Laud always took care to explain that theologically speaking the position of the altar was a matter of indifference, and that he enforced the east end position for reasons of liturgical order and practical convenience.[3] But it was the theological significance attached to the altar by the Laudian party which largely determined their insistence that the middle of the east wall was the most seemly place for it to stand. Laudian churchmen had grasped the truth that the altar was the most important piece of furniture in the church because of its connection with the Eucharist, the climax of the liturgy. Laud spoke of the altar as 'the greatest place of God's residence upon earth'; he showed how it was much more important than the pulpit, 'for there 'tis *Hoc est corpus meum*, "This is My body"; but in the pulpit 'tis at most but *Hoc est verbum meum*, "This is My word". And a greater reverence, no doubt, is due to the body than to the word of our Lord.'[4] To Anthony Sparrow writing during the Commonwealth the altar is that part of the church which most nearly resembles heaven.[5] Heylin calls the altar 'so lively a representation of the Cross of Christ'; and he describes how in the early church people prayed towards it because it was what 'they most longed for, and looked after, and of which they most desired to be partakers'.[6] Pocklington points out that the Knights of the Garter bow towards it at services of the Order 'because it is the

[1] Heylin, *A Coale from the Altar*, p. 52. [2] *Somerset Record Society*, xliii, pp. 190–1.
[3] *Works*, vi., p. 59. [4] Ibid., vi., p. 57; cf. iv, p. 285.
[5] Sparrow, *A Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer* (ed. 1668), pp. 46–7.
[6] *Antidotum Lincolniense*, ii, p. 86.

throne in earth of that great Lord, from whom their honour proceedeth'.[1] Honour and reverence belong to the altar, 'in regard to the presence of our Saviour whose chair of state it is upon earth'.[2]

6. *The Laudian Altar*

With such views on the nature of the altar the Laudian divines were faced with the problem of where to place it in the existing churches, mostly planned on medieval lines, so that the congregation would realize its significance and feel drawn to treat it with respect. People would not readily bow towards the short end of a table standing in the middle of the chancel, or find it easy to think of a table so placed as our Saviour's chair of state. In most chancels with seats or stalls running along the north and south walls there was little room for an altar of any size to stand altar-wise; their principles forbade them to discard chancels altogether and place the altar in the nave. The only course open to the Laudian divines was to place the altar against the east wall and to emphasize its significance by a stained-glass window, a reredos or a tapestry behind,[3] and with the part of the chancel roof immediately over the sanctuary or altar place specially adorned to form a kind of tester or canopy;[4] while the rails in front struck the minds of all beholders with reverence and respect.[5]

[1] *Altare Christianum*, p. 159. [2] Ibid., p. 175.

[3] Wigan Parish Church still possesses a genuine tapestry dossal, dating from Laudian times and given to the church by John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester. The tapestry was made at Mortlake from a Raphael cartoon and contains the story of the death of Ananias. It stretches right across the east end of the chancel, and is eighteen feet six inches long and five feet eight inches in height. Unfortunately it has never been in use since 1844. A reredos in the form of a painting of the Last Supper, which goes across the whole east wall, can still be seen at Hulcote, Bedfordshire; but it is probably eighteenth century in date. At services of the Order of the Garter in St. George's, Windsor, in the reign of Charles I the east end was hung with hangings of crimson velvet and gold, and over the altar were two small tapestries of the Assumption of our Lady, and of St. George on horseback (*Hierurgia Anglicana*, i, p. 98). When a new communion table was consecrated in St. Peter's, Wolverhampton, in 1635, the decalogue was put over the altar, written in a fair table with gilded letters, and each side was a piece of painted calico; the one on the north of St. Peter on the cross and St. George slaying the dragon, the one on the south of St. Paul with a sword, looking so Prynne said, more like a persecutor than an apostle (Prynne, *A quench-Coale*, pp. 196–8). Little Gidding, Huntingdonshire, has a genuine Laudian reredos in the form of three brass tablets, engraved with the Decalogue, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, which were put up by the Ferrars.

[4] The best surviving early seventeenth-century instance of a special treatment of the chancel roof as a substitute for the tester or canopy, is to be seen at Brancepeth, Co. Durham. The chancel has an oak ceiling put in by Cosin; and the part over the sanctuary is elaborately adorned with cherubim holding shields which contain Latin ascriptions of praise to God. The practice of specially adorning the part of the chancel roof over the altar has, of course, good medieval precedent.

[5] Pocklington, op. cit., p. 175.

The altar set against the east wall with its tapestry dossal, the special decoration of the chancel roof, the rails in front, became something which people naturally felt drawn to reverence by a bow or genuflection as they entered or left the church. This devout custom was encouraged in parish churches by Laudian divines; and Laud, in his metropolitical visitation, ordered it to be practised in cathedrals. The custom was not exactly an innovation; it had been practised continuously since the Reformation in the services of the Order of the Garter, and probably at other services in the Chapel Royal and in the private chapels of such bishops as Andrewes. The Laudian divines found a justification for the custom both in the usage of the Order of the Garter and in the references which are made in the Old Testament to worship with bodily gestures; particularly they quoted Psalm xcv, 6: 'O come, let us worship and fall down: and kneel before the Lord our maker'. In reference to this verse Laud said 'priest and people both are called upon for external and bodily reverence and worship of God in his church'. The reverence was not made primarily to the altar, but to God to whom the church belonged in a very special sense, and towards the altar, because it was the most important object in the house of God.[1]

With the altar at the east end it was possible to bring into accord the physical movements of the congregation and the structure of the liturgy. In Laudian circles it was usual to conceive of the Eucharist as a succession of acts of prayer by which the worshipper was drawn gradually nearer to the culminating point in the service, the Consecration and the Communion. This drawing near was symbolized by the coming up of the communicants into the chancel at the Offertory; but the Prayer of Humble Access supposes a still further drawing near, which took place when the communicants were able to leave their places in the chancel and go by rows to the altar rail to make their Communion. As physically it was impossible for them to go any further up the chancel, so life itself had nothing more to offer them; for Communion is the foretaste of heaven itself.[2]

The Church of England owes a great debt to the Laudian party for working out the principles which should determine the position of the altar in a church; and their treatment of the theological prin-

[1] Laud, *Works*, iv, pp. 201, 206, 220, 285; vi, pp. 56–8. [2] *Parentalia*, p. 83.

ciple makes them extraordinarily modern. But the type of altar to which their principles pointed required as a setting a single room building, where it could be seen from every part, such as the Chapel Royal, the choir of a cathedral, or—for many Laudian churchmen were attracted by the culture of the Counter-Reformation—a baroque church such as the *Gesu* at Rome, which was consecrated in 1584 and where spacing and lighting concentrate on one spot, the apse at the end, where the high altar reigns supreme. But English parish churches in the early seventeenth century were seldom single room buildings; and the Laudians forgot to take this fact into account. They thought of worship in terms of the services in the Chapel Royal or cathedral choirs, which are really auditory churches and where an altar against the east end or an altar screen is still near the congregation when they occupy their normal places. But to set an altar against the east wall of a parish church, which was a medievally planned building, meant removing it altogether from the consciousness of many of the congregation, except when they came into the chancel for the Communion, and only then if it was big enough to hold them all. The Laudian party made a point of reading Altar Prayers at the altar; but when it was placed against the east wall of the chancel of a parish church, a practical difficulty was created, the congregation in the nave being unable to hear the minister or to follow his movements. It was this practical difficulty which was the cause of much of the opposition to the Laudian reforms and made the churchwardens of All Saints', Northampton, in a petition to the House of Commons in February, 1640/1, complain that during the metropolitical visitation their communion table had been moved from the centre of the chancel and placed altar-wise under the east window, where, so they said, 'one third of the congregation could neither see nor hear the officiating minister'.[1]

Another practical difficulty arose when the chancel, as was the case in many churches, was too small to hold all the communicants. Before the Laudian reformation the difficulty had been got over by setting-up the altar in the nave; but one of the chief aims of the

[1] *Historical MSS. Commission*, iv, 1, appendix, p. 47b; cf. p. 64b for a complaint to the House of Commons of the Vicar of Dennington, Suffolk, who said he had been deprived of his benefice for refusing to read the Second Service at the communion table set up altar-wise, 'where few of his parish could hear'.

Laudian party was to put an end to this practice.[1] The vicar-general in carrying out the metropolitical visitation had ordered the chancels to be cleared of all family pews so as to provide more floor space where the communicants could kneel. But even when this had been done, chancels were still often too small to hold all the communicants at one time; and the owners of the pews swelled the ranks of the opposition. To obviate the difficulty the practice was adopted of dividing the communicants in a parish into groups; at the time of the year when it was customary for people to make their Communion, the celebrations were spread over a number of Sundays and each group came in turn. In 1637 John Davenant, the Bishop of Salisbury, ordered the churchwardens of Aldbourne in Wiltshire to divide the parish into four parts, and celebrations were to be held on four successive Sundays, one for each part. There were never to be more than two hundred communicants gathered at any one time in the chancel, so that the clergy should not get overtired and the chancel itself not become inconveniently crowded.[2]

Although there were individual exceptions, Laudianism as a whole failed to deal seriously with the real practical difficulties which resulted from placing the altar permanently against the east wall in the parish churches of the day. The Laudians started from certain principles governing the position of the altar, and only thought of the congregation afterwards. Williams and the two other leading writers on the opposite side, Prynne and Smart, were able to make a real contribution in the controversy because they realized that in parish churches liturgical worship must be congregational, and that this was best secured when the altar was placed amongst the people. To quote a typical sentence from Prynne: 'The communicants when the table stands in the midst may more easily see the minister when, and how he consecrates the sacrament, than when he is more remote, and may the better make their Confession to Almighty God, and say Amen to every prayer, as they are enjoined.'[3] Smart says the same thing in more picturesque language; he thinks of worship as something which should edify, and things are done best to edification 'when the minister abides with the

[1] In some medieval churches, even a strict Laudian like Matthew Wren had to allow the altar to be moved back into the body of the church, as otherwise it would have been too far away from the people (*Parentalia*, p. 76).

[2] Laud, *Works*, vi, pp. 61–2, footnote.

[3] *A quench-Coale*, p. 29.

people, or they draw near to him. He may not run away in a cope, as far as he can get him from the congregation.'[1]

Williams was acute enough to see that when the Laudian divines insisted that the arrangements in the Chapel Royal or cathedrals were the best model for those in parish churches, they were making liturgical worship impossible in the complex medievally planned buildings which the Church had inherited from pre-Reformation days. Parochial churches had to be arranged in the way best calculated to meet parochial needs, and not according to what Williams called 'the use of the Chapel';[2] because the conditions under which worship is offered in a parish church are very different from those in the Chapel Royal. So in the *Letter to the Vicar of Grantham* he told the vicar: 'What you saw in chapels or cathedral churches, is not the point now in question, but how the tables are appointed to be placed in parish churches';[3] and he went on to say that the vicar would only be justified in following the arrangements in the Chapel Royal or cathedral choirs if he could give up using his nave altogether, and seat his people in the chancel for every service.[4] To Williams one of the most valuable things about the ecclesiastical law relating to altars was its attempt to deal with parish churches in the light of local circumstances, by allowing the altar to be moved to the most convenient part of the church; otherwise, as Williams said, in many churches even if the minister were 'that stentor with the sides of brass' he would never be heard by the congregation.[5]

In justification of the practice of placing the altar amongst the people, Williams pointed out that when the Laudian party appealed to tradition as an argument in favour of the east end position, it was only one tradition to which they were appealing, that of the later Middle Ages; there were other traditions, that of basilican churches, that of the Eastern Church, that of the earlier Middle Ages, where the altar stands detached and the clergy can surround it on all sides;[6] and if the clergy, why not the communicants? so Williams and his party argued. Laudian churchmen insisted in rather a pedantic way that altars must invariably be placed with their long sides facing east and west; and Williams made a considerable score when he produced a quotation from Suarez, in which the Doctor Eximius

[1] *A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham* (1628), p. 18.
[2] *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*, pp. 33–9.
[3] Ibid., pp. 15–16. [4] Ibid., p. 13. [5] Ibid., p. 204 [6] Ibid., pp. 213–4, 219–25

says that the practice of the Church is to place the altar with its long sides towards any point of the compass, in fact, the one which happens to be most convenient.[1]

Moralizing once upon his life, Williams is reported to have said: 'I have passed through many places of honour and trust, both in Church and State, more than any of my order in England these seventy years before. But were I but assured, that by my preaching I had converted but one soul unto God, I should take therein more spiritual joy and comfort than in all the honours and offices which have been bestowed on me.'[2] Although one can hardly claim that Williams's life was a great evangelistic force, he had behind a magnificent façade a desire to help people to worship. This desire makes *The Holy Table, Name and Thing* something more than an ephemeral pamphlet; it is a plea for the ordinary English Churchman that churches may be arranged, not in the light of abstract ceremonial and uses, but in the way best suited to help him to hear his parish priest when he takes the various services in the liturgy, and to follow them easily and intelligently.

Although Williams and his party saw the importance of bringing the altar down amongst the people, they failed to understand its significance and its pre-eminence over all other pieces of furniture in the church. This was due to a very inadequate theology on the subject of the Eucharist sacrifice. They belonged to the section of the Church of England which in its emphasis on the finality of our Lord's Sacrifice on Calvary thought that the only kind of offering in the Eucharist was that 'of ourselves, our souls and bodies'. Smart, for instance, in an epigrammatic sentence speaks of Our Lord as sent 'to be the last priest, which should offer the last sacrifice, upon the last altar that ever the world should have';[3] His coming meant that consummation of all ceremonies;[4] man has only to offer his sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving.[5] But if the only offering in the Eucharist is that of man and his devotional acts, the altar is only one piece of furniture amongst others, of no more and no less significance than the reading pew, pulpit, poor box, and alms bason,

[1] *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*, p. 219; for the quotation, see Suarez, *Opera*, vii, p. 1003.
[2] Ambrose Philips, *The Life of John Williams* (Cambridge, 1700), pp. 308–9.
[3] *A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham*, p. 8.
[4] Ibid., p. 6.
[5] Ibid., p. 9.

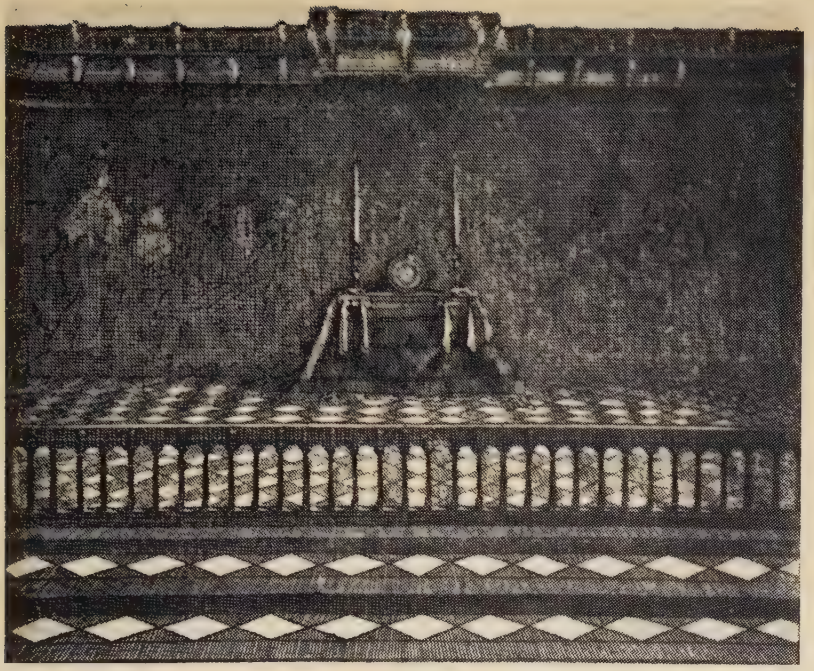


Plate VIII

The Chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, in the first half of the eighteenth century, from an engraving reproduced in J. D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England* (*p. 290, ed. of 1877*). This is an excellent example of a sanctuary furnished according to the best conceptions of the period. The altar has two tall tapers flanking the alms dish, with a reredos of tapestry and a canopy over; the floor is paved with the ubiquitous black and white marble of the period. The rails are of the usual continuous balustered type. Note the full frontal falling in folds at the corners, and the long markers of the altar books.

which, to quote Williams, we use 'for prayer, praise, thanksgiving, memory of the passion, dedicating ourselves to God's very service.'[1] As Prynne says, the altar is no more Christ's mercy seat or chair of state than the font, pulpit, or church Bible.[2] An inadequate eucharistic theology not only blinded them to the real significance of the altar but it also made them isolate the communion side of the Eucharist, and prefer that the altar table should be arranged and adorned like a table at an ordinary meal and the service become a realistic resemblance of a supper.[3]

The Laudian party, notably Heylin, saw this weakness in what Williams and the other conservative writers had to say; Heylin points out that they were unable to distinguish between 'the mystical sacrifice in the holy Eucharist commemorative and representative of our Saviour's death' and the 'spiritual sacrifices, which every Christian man is bound to offer to the Lord, at all times and places'.[4] To the Laudian party the altar possessed a uniqueness beyond all other pieces of church furniture and ordinary tables, because of its connection with the Eucharist, the commemorative sacrifice of Calvary. A one-sided eucharistic theology deprived the views of Williams, Prynne, and Smart of a good deal of their value; they realized that the altar must be conveniently near the congregation; but in their inability to see it as the most significant and considerable piece of furniture in the church they neglected to devise a reverent way of treating and emphasizing it once it had been brought down into the church.[5]

The assembling of the Long Parliament in November 1640 meant the end, at least for a time, of the Laudian altar. In many parishes, especially in London, the communion rails were burnt and the altars taken away from the east end. Williams was released from his imprisonment in the Tower, and enjoyed a few months of power and influence. He held the deanery of Westminster *in commendam* with his bishopric; and when the House of Commons was planning a corporate celebration of the Holy Communion in St. Margaret's, Westminster, Williams was told that the House de-

[1] *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*, p. 76. [2] *A quench-Coale* p. 40.
[3] Ibid., pp. 27–28. [4] *Antidotum Lincolniense*, ii, p. 44.
[5] But this was not always the case; at Little Gidding, the altar, though it stood table-wise in deference to Williams's wishes, was very seemly with its green covering for ordinary use; its festival covering of rich blue cloth with lace and a silver fringe, and silver candlesticks with wax candles.

sired 'the elements might be consecrated upon a communion table standing, in the middle of the church, according to the rubric'.[1] In 1643 the House of Commons passed an ordinance abolishing all altars at the east end; altar rails were to be taken down, and the communion table removed from the east end and placed in some other fit and convenient part of the chancel or nave.

But the submergence of Laudianism was only temporary; and it was during the Commonwealth that the church was built which best expresses the Laudian ideal and shows the appeal which it made to some of the best minds in the nation. The church is a private chapel in the park of Staunton Harold in Leicestershire, and was built in 1653 by Sir Robert Shirley; all its furnishings, apart from the eighteenth-century wrought-iron chancel screen, are contemporary with the building. When Cromwell got to hear about the church, he demanded a large sum of money from Sir Robert on the ground that if he could afford to build a church he could afford to provide the Lord Protector with a regiment of soldiers. Sir Robert refused to pay it, and was imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he died soon afterwards. Over the west door of the church is the following inscription:

In the yeare: 1653
When all things sacred were throughout ye nation
either demollisht or profaned
Sr Robert Shirley Baronet
Founded this church
whose singular praise it is
to have done the best things in ye worst times
And
hoped them in the most callamitous
The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

The chancel is structurally separate from the nave; it has no seats or stalls, and the floor is paved with black and white marble. The altar stands on three ascents against the east wall; in front of the altar instead of the present rails there were originally movable kneeling-forms, permanently covered with dark purple houseling cloths. There is no canopy or tester; but on the part of the chancel

[1] *C.J.*, ii, p. 32.

roof over the altar is painted the word 'Theos', surrounded with cherubim's heads, which are represented as singing alternately, 'Hallelujah' and 'Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus'. Simple panelling of the period forms a reredos behind. The altar is an oak table and is covered with a carpet of dark red purple velvet; it falls loose at the corners and has a faded gold fringe. In the middle of the carpet are the letters I H S, surmounted by a cross and with the sacred heart underneath; and the whole design is surrounded by a glory issuing from the crown of thorns.[1] It is possible that the frontal was the work of the ladies of Little Gidding, as they embroidered the cover of Sir Robert's Bible in the same way.[2] For the Eucharist the altar is covered with a fair linen cloth which covers the front as well as the top and sides; and there are two cushions for the altar books of the same material as the carpet. The communion plate includes two candlesticks and is contemporary with the building; and at one time two Prayer Books, with the crucifix engraved on the back and front, went with the plate, and were placed upright, one at each end of the altar outside the candlesticks. The plate is silver gilt; all the pieces have inscriptions, and not all from the Bible; for instance, on the paten covers are the words: 'My love is crucified.' Of such an altar might John Inglesant have been thinking when he said that upon the altars of our Church 'the divine presence hovers as surely to those who believe it, as it does upon the splendid altars of Rome'.

[1] The sacred heart with the cross and I H S also appears on the alms bason belonging to the chapel.

[2] Hollingbourne, Kent, has an altar frontal or carpet worked by four ladies of the Culpeper family during the Commonwealth, and given to the church at the Restoration. It is purple, embroidered with the twelve fruits of the tree of life (Rev. xxii, 2) with cherubim's heads in the border.

Chapter V

THE ALTAR AND THE CHANCEL
1660–1841

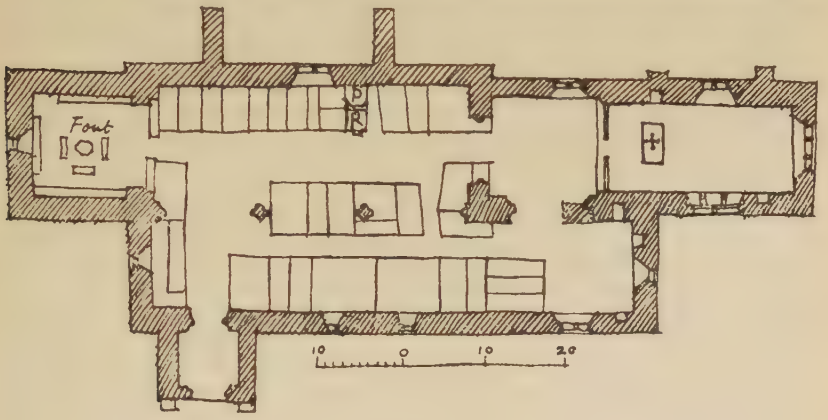
1. The Position of the Altar

'Why are we so ungrateful, why do we envy one another, if the true worship of the Lord, be grown more perfect in our times, than it was before?' so wrote Peter Heylin at the end of his *Antidotum Lincolniense*,[1] in a spirit of impatience with the opposition aroused by the Laudian reforms, which to him and many others had brought a new idea of Christian worship. The traditionalism, the taste, the sensitive spirituality of Laudianism had taken hold of many church people; and it was inevitable that at the Restoration the outward signs of that spirit of worship which Laud had infused into the Church, should in many places be restored too—the altar table set up at the east end, decently covered and railed.

But the return of the Laudian arrangements was slow. In the 1662 Prayer Book the rubrics relating to the chancel and communion table remain unaltered, apart from a few minor changes, from what they were in 1559; the Royal Injunction 'For tables in the church' and Canon LXXXII of 1604 are still authoritative explanations of how the rubrics are to be obeyed; the communion table may still be set up in the part of the church which is most convenient when the actual Communion service is celebrated. A rubric is added before the third Exhortation in the Communion office to the effect

[1] iii, p. 78.

that 'At the time of the celebration of the Communion, the communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the holy Sacrament, the Priest shall say this Exhortation'; an addition which gives some rubrical sanction to the custom of the communicants gathering near the altar, either at the Offertory or just before the Exhortation. In the opinion of some liturgists the words



Plan 34

Bolam, Northumberland. *A medieval building. The arrangements are those existing in 1870. Note particularly the position of the pulpit and reading pew nearly half-way down the nave, and the placing of the altar at the west end of the chancel, in accordance with the early post-Reformation tradition, with an ample communicants' space before the rails. (Cf. a modern version of such a space at Leeds Parish Church, No. 52.) Of Bolam Church, F. R. Wilson, from whose* Churches in the Archdeaconry of Lindisfarne (1870), *this plan has been adapted, says: 'The communion table is brought forward from the east end, and placed near to the chancel arch. This arrangement, combined with the wonderful irregularity of the pews, some of which are painted, others covered with green baize, some square, some long, some whole, and some decaying, gives an unusual aspect to the interior. But the place is so hoary, so earthy, so venerable, and crumbling, so veritably a priceless relic of high antiquity, that, as we look upon it, there comes to us a sense that we should put off the shoes from our feet.' This is a remarkable tribute from a mid-Victorian architect, much of whose working life was spent in destroying such arrangements.*

'with faith' were added after 'draw near' in the Invitation in order to give the command a spiritual rather than physical meaning, since the communicants had already drawn near the altar; possibly the addition was due to Cosin's influence.[1]

The ecclesiastical law on the subject of the communion table remains what it was prior to the Laudian reforms, though it might be held that the case of St. Gregory's-by-St. Paul's[2] had given the ordinary the right of deciding whether in any given instance there was good reason for moving the altar from the east end, and if so of determining in what part of the church it should stand. Visitation articles for some years after the Restoration reflect this situation and specify no particular place for the altar.[3] Such being the law of the Church and the attitude of the bishops, the communion table in the years succeeding the Restoration was frequently set up in the nave or lower end of the chancel, a practice which shows that the east end is not the only position for the altar in our liturgical tradition. The second edition of a much enlarged Church catechism, which was published in 1674, supposedly with the intention of providing converts from Presbyterianism with a handbook of Anglican teaching, has an engraving of a chancel in which the altar is set table-wise in the middle. The celebrant and minister assisting him stand in black gowns, one on the north and the other on the south side, and the communicants kneel all round, the women in the high-crowned hats of the period. The catechism inculcates a normal type of seventeenth-century high churchmanship, and there is no trace of the attitude to the Eucharist which is popularly supposed to go with this position for the altar.[4] When Dr. William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, made a visitation of his diocese in 1703–4, he found five places—St. Michael's Appleby, Burgh-by-Sands, Burgh-

[1] *Surtees Society*, lv, p. 57. [2] v.s.p.127.

[3] Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield, in his visitation articles of 1662 only asks if the table is 'placed conveniently in church or chancel'; and fourteen years after the Restoration, Pearson, Bishop of Chester, just asks if there is a 'convenient communion table' in every church and makes no mention of where it should stand (*Ritual Report*, pp. 608b, 642a).

[4] *ἐνιαυτός or, a Course of Catechizing, being the Marrow of all Orthodox and Practical Expositions Upon the Church-Catechism, and of All Controversies Upon the Church-Customs and Observances* (2nd ed., London, 1674), p. 276. (See Plate VI.) An engraving on p. 260 of a baptism shows a minister in the surplice; and another one on p. 218 shows the altar at the east end. The absence of a surplice need not necessarily mean a loose attachment to the Church; in the Scottish Episcopal Church it was not worn till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

under-Stanemore, Ireby and Ravenstonedale—where the altar stood detached from the east wall; at Appleby and Burgh-under-Stanemore he particularly says it stood table-wise; at Ireby and Ravenstonedale there were benches or seats along the east wall, and at Burgh-by-Sands a family pew. The bishop did not much approve of these arrangements—possibly they were becoming rare in his day—and he ordered the benches at Ireby to be removed. But at Greystock the chancel was so inconveniently long, that he readily allowed the rector to move the altar near the body of the church, and run a screen across the chancel behind it, like an altar screen in a cathedral.[1] The altar may not always have been set table-wise when it stood in the middle of the chancel; at Bolam in Northumberland (Plan 34; cf. also Plan 21), for instance, where there is a long chancel, the altar was placed near the chancel arch and stood at any rate in 1870 in the altar-wise position with rails in front of it.[2] Neither in the engraving of 1674, mentioned above, nor in the churches referred to by Bishop Nicolson, was the altar railed. But there were some churches where the practice advocated by Archbishop Williams continued to be adopted, and rails were put up round the altar on all four sides.[3]

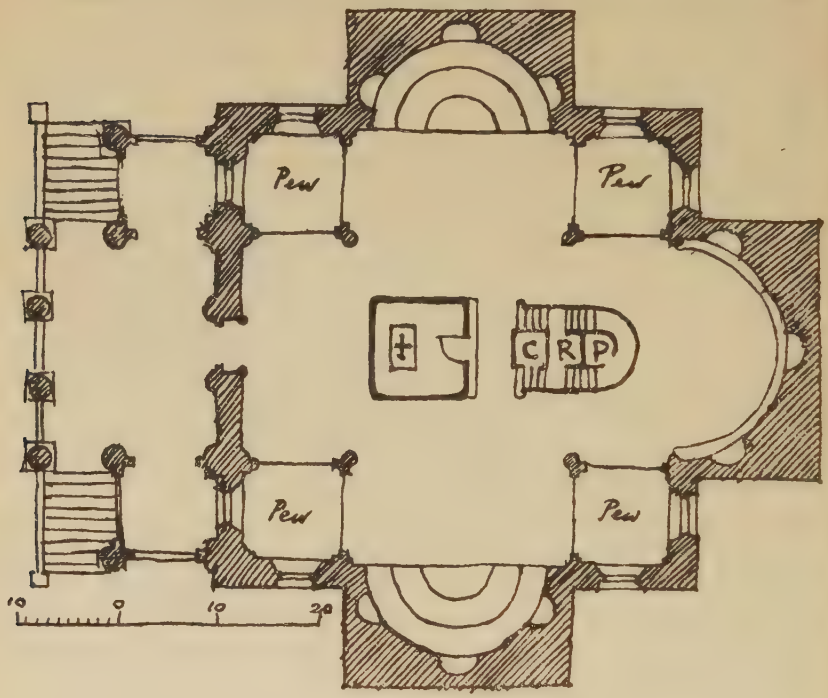
The practice of placing the altar in the middle of the chancel and railing it on all four sides was not confined to England. In 1718 the French liturgist, Le Brun des Marettes, who wrote under the name of the Sieur de Moleon, brought out the well-known liturgical travel diary which is a mine of information on the furniture and services in French cathedrals and churches at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He tells us that at Dijon in the Church of St. Etienne, the altar stood detached in the middle of the choir; while at St. Germain des Prés it was in the crossing and almost in the

[1] William Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile* (ed., 1877), pp. 15–16, 39, 42, 47, 91, 129. The plan adopted at Greystock was a revival of a not unusual medieval arrangement.

[2] F. R. Wilson, *An Architectural Survey of the Churches in the Archdeaconry of Lindisfarne* (1870), pp. 169–70.

[3] At Branscombe, Devonshire, rails were put up all round the altar about 1665, and the railed-in altar space stood about three or four feet from the east wall; the altar has now been moved to the east wall, but the rails still surround it on three sides (E. K. Prideaux, *Branscombe Church, Devon, Architecturally Considered* (Exeter, 1911), p. 17, plate 30). At Mallwydi, Merionethshire, a black marble altar was given to the church in 1734; it stood in the middle of the building and was railed on all four sides; in appearance the rails are said to have been rather mean (*Arch. Camb.*, vi, 1, p. 140). Gibside Chapel, Co. Durham (Plan 35), which was consecrated in 1812, has the altar almost in the centre surrounded by a railing on all four sides (v.i.p.189).

middle of the church.[1] In neither of these cases was there a retable or rails. At Port Royal the altar was not attached to the east wall, and behind it was a large sacristy.[2] The altar arrangements in Lyons Cathedral offer the most interesting comparison with those of Eng-



Plan 35

GIBSIDE CHAPEL, Winlaton, Co. Durham. *Built 1760 as a burial-place for the Bowes family, the architect being James Payne (1725–89). It was fitted up as a private chapel by the 10th Earl of Strathmore in 1812. The altar has a blue-green velvet 'carpet' fitting close on all four sides, as does the large fair linen cloth; there are similar velvet cloths on the three-decker. The plan is one of great charm and the liturgical arrangements are unique of their kind.*

[1] Sieur de Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques de France* (Paris, 1718), pp. 155, 255–6. A fuller list of French churches with a similar arrangement of the altar is given by Jean Baptiste Thiers, in his *Dissertation sur les Principaux Autels des Eglises* (Paris, 1688), p. 124.

[3] This is a similar arrangement to that adopted at Greystock, v.s.p. 151

land. The altar stood on the chord of the apse; round the apse was a seat for the attendant ministers at a pontifical High Mass, with the archbishop's throne in the middle, surmounted by the royal arms of France. The altar was surrounded by a metal balustrade, about two to two and a half feet high, on its north, west and south sides; there were gates in the middle of each of these sides and on the east side the ends of the balustrade joined the back corners of the altar. At the back of the altar was a movable retable which was taken away when the archbishop celebrated, with the result that the congregation when praying towards the altar also had to look at the royal arms, just as in an English auditory church.[1]

In English parish churches where the altar stood in the middle of the chancel without any rails, Communion was taken to the people in the pre-Laudian manner as they knelt in the places to which they had moved at the Offertory; and there is nothing in the 1662 Prayer Book to forbid the practice. There is a detailed account of Communion given in this way in a series of articles published by an anonymous clergyman in 1821 under the title of *Medicina Clerica: or Hints to the Clergy for the Healthful and Comfortable Discharge of their Ministerial Duties.* The book, as the title suggests, deals mostly with precautions against catching chills in church or at funerals; but in a moment of personal reminiscence the writer describes the manner of giving Communion in his parish in the following words:

'When I came to my present parish, I found the chancel without any rails at the east end round the communion table, and the table standing in the middle of the chancel. On inquiry I found that the practice there was for all the communicants at the time of a sacrament, to come into the chancel, which is large, and has seats on each side of the entrance at the west end, and which are continued half way on each side:[2] the whole chancel is about forty feet long by

[1] De Moleon, op. cit., pp. 44–5, fig. III. The balustrade was put up towards the end of the sixteenth century at the restoration which took place after the cathedral had been sacked by the Huguenots; but there was one in the same position round the altar in the Middle Ages (A. Sachet, *Le Pardon Annuel à Saint-Jean de Lyon* (Lyons, 1914–18), i, pp. 27–8). Johann Balthasar Neumann's church at Vierzehnheiligen in Franconia has not only an altar at the east end but a group of three altars in the centre, facing north, west, and south, and the whole surrounded by a balustrade. A modern instance of an altar placed in the centre and surrounded with a railing is to be found in the Roman Catholic church of the First Martyrs, Keighley Road, Bradford.

[2] These seats were possibly medieval or seventeenth-century stalls, returned at the west end of the chancel, v.s.p. 115.

seventeen feet and a half wide. Before the seats is a front, or desk, to kneel and lean against. The table stands so that the minister can see all the communicants before him; and when he administers the bread and wine, instead of their coming up to the table, he goes round to them. Not having been used to, or seen, this custom before, it appeared strange to me; but, now that I am used to it, I like it much better than the most usual way, as it seems more like the original thing, the Lord's Supper; and it is conducted without any noise or confusion, the minister being the only one who moves during the time.'[1]

But churches which had these Communion arrangements, though commoner than is usually supposed, were not the norm in the period after the Restoration; they show, however, that the Church had learnt one lesson from Archbishop Williams, that the ecclesiastical law on the position of the altar was primarily directed at bringing the altar near the communicants; if this was not possible when the altar was at the east end, it was to be set up with the bishop's permission in some other part of the church. In many places the altar was moved back to the east end and railed, even before the year 1660 was out;[2] and by the end of the century the majority of churchmen were shocked when they found a church where the altar was not set up against the east wall and fenced with a rail. There are a number of instances which show how by degrees people came to prefer the east-end position for the altar. In 1684 the parish of Moulton in the diocese of Lincoln petitioned the chancellor that they might be allowed to drop the practice of moving the altar into the body of the church for the Communion, on the ground that it was contrary to the rubric, and instead to set it up decently railed at

[1] *Medicina Clerica* (1821), pp. 56–7. The author's last remark can be compared with one of the reasons which Prynne gives in favour of administering to people in their seats, namely the prevention of any 'disturbance, disorder, noise or stir', and the comfort of old and infirm people (*A quench-Coale*, pp. 29–30). Administering to people kneeling in their seats was continued even when the altar was placed at the east end and railed; the method was used in Christ Church, Oxford, until 1934, and is still the custom in St. Mary-the-Virgin, Oxford, at the Latin Communion Service.

[2] Cosin in his visitation articles for the diocese of Durham in 1662 asks if the chancel contains 'a comely fair table there, placed at the upper part of it' (*Ritual Report*, p. 601a). In 1671 William Lucy, Bishop of St. David's, asks if the table is 'placed at the east end of your chancel, with the ends north and south, with rails before it' (ibid., p. 615b footnote). Archbishop Sancroft in his metropolitical visitation articles in 1686 asks if there is a decent table for the Holy Communion placed in the chancel 'where it ought to be' (ibid., p. 653b). After this date visitation articles assume that the altar is against the east wall.

the east end. A few years later the parish of St. Michael's, Stamford, in the same diocese, also petitioned to be allowed to move the altar to the east end. For many years it had stood in the middle of the chancel, but they complained that it was 'incommodious' both for the celebrant in administering and the communicants in receiving.[1] Lord Torrington, in 1791, was much shocked to see the chancel at Tattershall in Lincolnshire boarded off altogether in order to keep out the wind, and the altar standing in the nave: 'Why standeth not the altar at the proper place?' he writes in his diary.[2] In Dr. William Nicholl's *Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer*, published in 1710, there is a very balanced statement on how the Church came gradually to adopt the Laudian reforms. 'Since the Restoration', he says, 'no positive determination therein being made, in the review of the Common Prayer, the dispute has very happily died; and the tables have been generally set altar-wise, and railed in, without any opposition thereto; the generality of all parishioners esteeming it a very decent situation, they coming of themselves to a good liking of it, which they could not be brought to, by the too rigid methods which were heretofore used.'[3]

2. *The Setting of the Altar*

'The communion table is decently railed in; wainscotted about, and ceiled overhead, with coloured boards.'[4] Such is the description which Bishop Nicolson gives of the altar in the church at Edenhall when he made a visitation there in 1703. It summarizes the means which, in the period between the Restoration and 1841, were employed to adorn and lend significance to the altar when it was placed against the east wall; the painting of the chancel roof, the special treatment of the chancel walls, the altar itself fenced with a rail.

Sometimes there might be a small canopy over the altar;[5] but

[1] *A.A.S. Reports and Papers*, xxx, i, pp. 37–8, 41.

[2] *The Torrington Diaries*, ii, p. 356.

[3] William Nicholls, *A Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer* (1710), commentary on the Ornaments Rubric.

[4] William Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile*, p. 58.

[5] There is one over the altar at Rode Hill, Somerset, a church built by Archdeacon Daubeny in 1824. Judging from old photographs a narrow canopy of wood once projected over the altar at Haughton-le-Skerne, Co. Durham, and probably dated from 1662 when the church was refurnished. An eighteenth-century engraving of the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, reproduced in J. D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England* (1877), p. 290, shows a canopy covering the whole of the altar. (See Plate

more often the ceiling at the east end was specially adorned,[1] and the adornment might spread over the whole chancel ceiling in order to honour the place where the communicants assembled as well as the altar. A good example of such an adornment of the chancel ceiling is to be seen at Bromfield in Shropshire, dating from 1672. The ceiling is painted and the prevailing colours are brown, red, and grey. In the centre is the triangular symbol of the Trinity; and round it on clouds are angels blowing trumpets and holding scrolls which contain texts of an apocalyptic character. Over the east end two angels hold an open Bible, on the pages of which are written the words: 'Mercy and truth are met together; Righteousness and peace have kissed each other', from Psalm lxxxv, 10; according to the medieval commentators, the meeting of mercy and truth, of righteousness and peace took place on Calvary;[2] and the sentence is therefore peculiarly fit to adorn the place in the church where Calvary is pleaded.[3]

In a well-furnished church of the period, the floor of the chancel would be paved with black and white marble, and the walls painted or wainscoted. The sanctuary of St. Mary Redcliffe, for instance, was paved in this way in 1709, and the steps at the entrance to the middle alley of the chancel were laid with blue and white lias.[4] But

VIII.) Cf. *Wren Society*, xiii, pp. xvi–xvii and Plates XXVII, XXXI, XXXII, for an account of the canopy planned by Wren for the high altar in St. Paul's. According to *Parentalia*, pp. 282, 292, footnote, the canopy was to be a ciborium modelled on that in St. Peter's, Rome, and 'consisting of four pillars wreathed, of the richest Greek marbles, supporting a canopy hemispherical'. At Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire, in 1835, Lord Monson mentions 'a sort of canopy or half ceiling' over the altar, painted blue. The reredos was a panel covering the east window, painted to look like a curtain. The whole, he thought, was in miserable taste (*Lincoln Record Society*, xxxi, p. 219).

[1] E.g., as at St. Swithun's, Worcester, 1736, where on the ceiling over the altar is an I H S in a glory surrounded by two rows of cherubim's heads. The ceiling over the altar in St. Mary's, Dublin, is painted with gold stars on a blue ground, with the tetragrammaton in the centre.

[2] J. M. Neale and R. F. Littledale, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, iii, p. 60.

[3] Other instances of a special treatment of the chancel roof are to be seen in the chapel of Chelsea Hospital; St. Paul's, Walden, Hertfordshire; Bruton, Somerset. The chapel in Chelsea Hospital has a painting by Marco Ricci of the Resurrection in the half-dome over the altar place. At St. Paul's, Walden, the chancel roof is beautiful plaster work, dating from 1727. The chancel at Bruton has eighteenth-century vaulting painted blue and green.

[4] E. E. Williams, *St. Mary Redcliffe*, p. 19; cf. Perkins, *Westminster Abbey*, i, pp. 127–8, for an account of the black and white pavement which the great Dr. Busby gave for the choir of the Abbey in 1687. Black and white marble pavements of this period still surround the altars at Messing, Essex; King's Norton, Leicestershire; Kedington, Suffolk. In the London churches such pavements were nearly universal; at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, for instance, the sanctuary was 'paved with black and white marble, as most are' (James Paterson, *Pietas Londinensis* (1714), p. 158).

there were only a few parishes which could afford the luxury of having the ceiling, floor, and walls of their chancel specially treated. Most places had to be content with regular whitewashing of the walls and the writing-up of scriptural sentences near the altar, relating to the Eucharist.[1] But there was one wall which even in the poorest of parishes was almost invariably decorated, and that was the east one, either the whole of it or the part in the centre, in order to mark the proper place for the altar and form a reredos.

The decoration took a variety of forms. In some places it was a dossal or tapestry;[2] or the east wall, and even the east window, might be covered with a curtain.[3] Cosin, for instance, hung the east wall of his chapel in Auckland Castle with a tapestry of the meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. This may seem a curious subject to choose, but in the Middle Ages it was sometimes found in a carved reredos and was regarded as a type of the Epiphany.[4] It is improbable that Cosin chose the subject for this reason; the seventeenth-century divines valued the Old Testament stories for their own sake and without much use of mystical interpretation found in them a spiritual and devotional support. Occasionally stucco work was used; and Babington in Somerset, which was built in 1750, has an apse with stucco work over the altar; in the centre are the cross and the letters I H S surrounded with a glory of cherubim's heads, and underneath the sacramental symbols, the wheat and the vine.[5] The reredos at Stapleford in Leicestershire is a carved stone tablet; but its full flavour can only be gained from an almost contemporary description of the church in John Nichols' history of the county. 'The ascent', he says, 'from the nave to the chancel, is by three steps; and one more step leads to the altar, which is just completed by Brown of Derby, and is beautifully formed of marble,

[1] Scriptural sentences in chancels, which date from this period, are to be seen at St. Margaret's, Herefordshire; Stokesay, Shropshire; Witnesham, Suffolk; Sherrington, Wiltshire.

[2] Charles II gave to Westminster Abbey tapestries of the Circumcision of Isaac and the Expulsion of Hagar, which were hung round the sanctuary at his coronation (Perkins, op. cit., i, pp. 61–2). The chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, had a tapestry covering over the whole east wall to the height of the canopy over the altar (v.s.p. 155, footnote).

[3] In the eighteenth century the east wall was sometimes painted to look as if it was curtained, e.g., the east wall of St. Benedict's, Gracechurch Street, was painted to represent 'a grand crimson curtain, fringed with gold' (J. P. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum* (1802), i, p. 322).

[4] Braun, *Der Christliche Altar*, ii, p. 448.

[5] Fine stucco work adorns all three walls of the altar place in St. Peter's, Drogheda, 1749–52.

with borders, of black, statuary and dove colour. In the centre is a neat tablet, with the emblems of hope and eternity, an anchor suspended on an encircled serpent; and at the top a handsome urn.'[1]

Occasionally there was an attempt to make the whole east end a reredos as was so often done in Spain, a treatment which is analagous to that of the medieval great altar screens such as those at Winchester and St. Albans. In 1755 the parish of St. Mary Redcliffe expended five hundred pounds on three pictures by Hogarth, which were hung all across the east end—the Ascension over the east window, on one side the three Marys at the Sepulchre, and on the other the high priest's servants sealing the stone. In 1792 a picture of the raising of Jairus' daughter was added and set up immediately over the altar, the whole scheme when completed suggesting the idea of our Lord as the conqueror over death and the giver of eternal life.[2]

Canon LXXXII of 1604 had ordered the Decalogue to be 'set upon the east end of every church and chapel where the people may best see and read the same'; and unless the Decalogue was already written up on the tympanum, the order was obeyed. By far the most usual form of reredos in this period was a board with the Decalogue in the middle, and on one side the Belief, and on the other the Lord's Prayer (cf. Plan 5). A few sentences from scripture or the liturgy might be added, and cherubim's heads painted in the border, and at the top the name Jehovah in Hebrew characters, generally known as the tetragrammaton.[3] But in churches where sufficient money was

[1] John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (1795), ii, p. 340.

[2] Williams, op. cit., pp. 19–20; cf., J. F. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum* (1802), ii, p. 201, for an account of a similar treatment of the east wall in St. Andrew's, Holborn. In the church at Congleton, Cheshire, which was built in 1740–2, the space each side of the east window is almost completely filled with paintings of St. Peter and St. Paul; they are the work of Edward Penny and date from 1748. Under the east window are panels with the Decalogue, the Belief and Lord's Prayer; and in the broken pediment over the central panel is the pelican in her piety. The scheme was meant to be completed by putting stained glass in the window; but this was never done apart from a small pane at the top. Bruton, Somerset, has a plaster reredos covering almost all the east wall of the chancel. It dates from 1743, and is now painted cream, blue, and gold. In the centre panel are the letters I H S in a glory and in the side panels cornucopias and the instruments of the Passion.

[3] Good examples of this simple form of reredos are to be seen at Chislehampton, Oxfordshire; St. Ninian's, Brougham, Westmorland; Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York. According to the churchwardens' accounts the latter was bought in 1721 and cost nine pounds. When there was an east window, the Decalogue, Belief, and Lord's Prayer were often set up on separate boards each side of it. Instead of boards framed sheets of canvas were sometimes used. An interesting example of the importance attached to this form of reredos is afforded by the will of Captain William Fox, who

forthcoming, this kind of reredos might take on a very elaborate form. There would be a picture over the altar[1] or a plain panel, in which was painted in gold a glory or the letters I H S or the tetragrammaton; arranged on each side were panels with the Decalogue, pictures or statues[2] of Moses and Aaron, the Belief, and the Lord's Prayer, and in a few instances pictures of St. Peter and St. John. The whole would be enclosed in a frame of columns and pilasters, with an entablature and pediment at the top, crowned with urns and occasionally mitres and candlesticks with sham candles.[3] In auditory churches the royal arms were set up over the whole structure. Between each panel was carved bolection work, or festoons of fruit and flowers, or perhaps the instruments of the Passion.[4] Over the central panel might be the pelican in her piety,[5] like the one in

---

lived in Virginia and worshipped in St. Mary's, Whitechapel, Lancaster County. The will is dated 1717, and in one of the clauses his wife is asked to give to the church the Creed and Lord's Prayer, well drawn in gold letters; his father, David Fox, had previously given two Commandment tables in 1702. All four boards of massive black walnut are still preserved in the church (R. A. Lancaster, *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches* (1915), p. 321).

[1] The picture immediately over the altar was generally the Last Supper; but other New Testament scenes figured in altar pieces, e.g. the Virgin Mary with Christ in her arms, the Angel appearing to the Shepherds, the Epiphany, our Lord ministered to by the Angels, the Miracle at the Pool of Bethesda, the Raising of Jairus' daughter, the Transfiguration, Lazarus carried into Abraham's bosom, the Raising of Lazarus, the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, our Lord appearing to St. Mary Magdalene, the Supper at Emmaus, the Ascension, the Stoning of St. Stephen, the Twelve Apostles and St. Paul, the Agnus Dei, the Heavenly Choir. One New Testament scene is noticeably absent from this list, and that is the Crucifixion; it is rarely mentioned as the subject of an altar-piece. There is an instance of its use in the church at Penmachno, Carnarvonshire. The Crucifixion formed the central panel of a triptych which was given to the church in 1713. The triptych was Flemish of the first half of the sixteenth century and was probably bought by the donor on the Continent. The triptych with the centre panel missing is preserved in Penmachno Church (*Arch. Camb.*, vi, 6, pp. 315–20). Cf. also Thomas Wilson, *The Ornaments of Churches Considered* (Oxford 1761), p. 128 footnote, for an account of how in Exeter Cathedral in 1761 there was near the east window what is described as an effigy in wood of Our Saviour hanging on the Cross. Another picture favoured in altar-pieces at the beginning of the nineteenth century was less biblical in tone; it was a scene of a Gothic ruin, painted on specially prepared linen or paper and was an example of what was called a transparency; there used to be one in Petersham Church.

[2] At the chapel in Somerset House was 'a stately altar-piece, *Moses* and *Aaron*, done in marble as big as the Life, and set in *Niches*, but the Commandments are not thereon; as in other Churches and Chapels' (Paterson, *Pietas Londinensis* (1714), pp. 260–1).

[3] v.i.p. 170.

[4] The reredos at Tyberton, Herefordshire, 1720, consists of three plain panels, which were once lettered with the decalogue, etc., and in the borders of each panel are carved the instruments of the Passion and Eucharistic symbols.

[5] Sometimes there was a dove, like the gilt one in *alto-relievo* which projects from the top of the central panel in the reredos at St. Werburgh's, Dublin, symbolizing that the Eucharist is an action done in and through the power of the Holy Spirit. On the panel itself are written sentences from the Liturgy.

Grinling Gibbons's altar-piece in St. James's, Piccadilly (Plan 10), of which John Evelyn said that 'there was no altar anywhere in England, nor has there been any abroad, more handsomely adorned'.

The Belief and Lord's Prayer, often referred to in contemporary descriptions as the Pater Noster, had through long-continued custom come to be regarded in Archbishop Secker's phrase as 'very fit companions' for the Decalogue.[1] They were not ordered by any positive ecclesiastical canon or law, although they are mentioned in conjunction with the Decalogue in the visitation articles of two Restoration bishops, John Hacket and Peter Gunning.[2] The reason why they generally appeared together is not far to seek. Knowledge and understanding of the three was a necessary preparation for Confirmation and admission to Communion; and in the Catechism they make up with the sacraments the foundations of the Christian life.[3] They contain the essentials of Christian morality, Christian faith and Christian prayer. The period did not think of Christianity in terms of atmosphere and sentiment, and it did not hesitate to teach that the Christian profession meant a life with a definite ethical content, a belief in certain definite truths, a practice of a certain way of prayer. No better place, it thought, could be found for writing-up the foundations of our Christianity than the reredos over the table of the Lord.[4]

Pictures of Moses and Aaron were immensely popular as part of a reredos; a writer has spoken of them affectionately as 'the two faithful prophets ever attendant on our altars'.[5] Statues of them near the altar in All Hallows', Thames Street, were once nearly removed because people carried their affection to such an extent that they started bowing to them on entering the church.[6] Their appearance in altar-pieces dates from before the Civil War; William Dowsing, when he made his iconoclastic tour through Suffolk in 1643, ordered

[1] *Works* (ed. 1811), v, p. 410. [2] *Ritual Report*, pp. 608b, 651a.

[3] In Woolley Church, Huntingdonshire, are two boards lying in the tower, on which are written not only the Decalogue, etc., but also the words of administration from the Communion office; when these boards were placed over the altar, they formed a reredos expressing the Catechism scheme of the Christian life in full.

[4] The Decalogue and Precepts of the Church are written up in Latin over the north and south doors respectively in the choir of Auch Cathedral.

[5] Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, iv, p. 110.

[6] Ibid, i, p. 48. The statues now stand on brackets one each side of the altar in St. Michael's, Paternoster Royal, where they were removed when All Hallows', Thames Street, was pulled down. They are about five feet high.

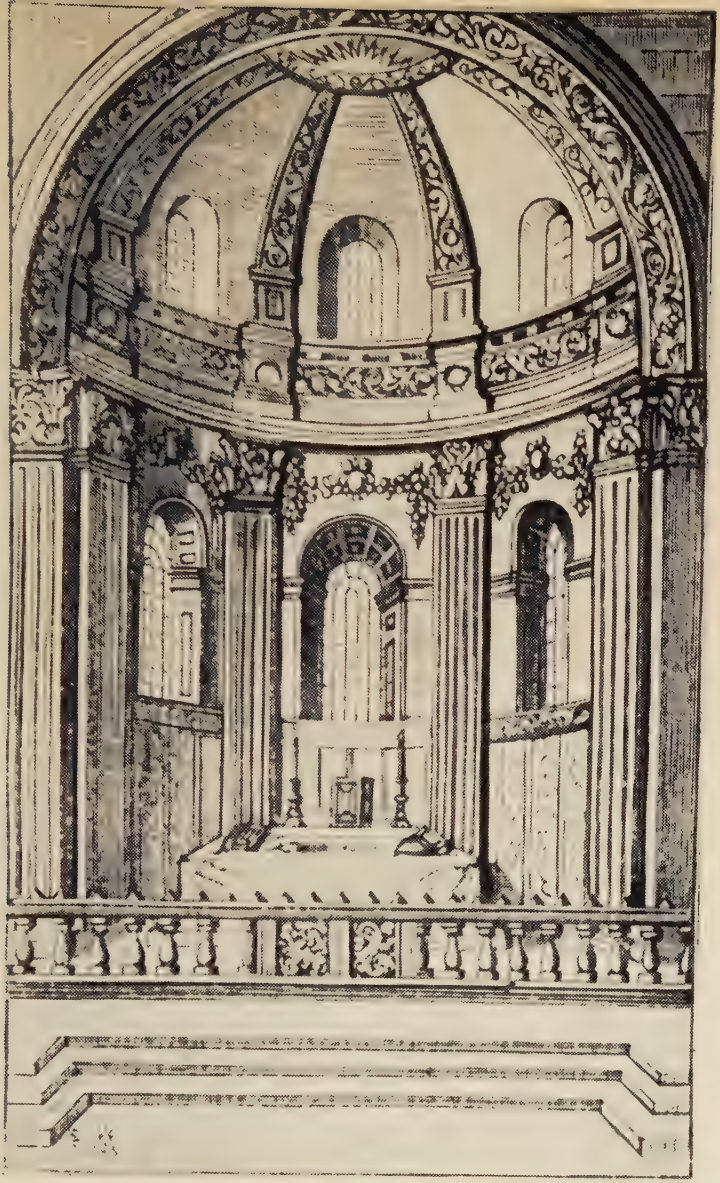


Plate IX

The High Altar of St. Paul's Cathedral at the end of the seventeenth century, from an engraving reproduced in J. D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England* (*p. 286, ed. of 1877*). There is a richly bound copy of either the Bible or the Prayer Book, placed where we should to-day expect to find a cross or crucifix (see pp. 171–2). The book and the two candlesticks appear to be set upon a low shelf (see p. 169). For Wren's scheme for a marble Ciborium here, see p. 155, footnote 3.

Moses with his rod, and Aaron with his mitre, in Otley Church, to be taken down.[1] One would like to think that Moses and Aaron were placed over the altar as being types of the Christian ministry; but it is much more likely that Moses was thought a suitable adjunct to the Decalogue, since he was the human agent in giving the Law, and Aaron, his brother, seemed the most natural person to go with him. Some people held they represented the triumph of the Gospel over the Law; and parishes may have preferred them as seeming less popish than the New Testament saints, though pictures of saints were regarded as legal, and in 1684 the Court of Arches in the case of *Cook and Others v. Tallent* pronounced in favour of the lawfulness of pictures provided they were not used for superstitious or idolatrous purposes.[2] The Court was silent on the subject of statues. Moses is usually represented in the robe of a prophet, and Aaron in the vestments of the High Priest as they are described in Exodus. He is always waving a censer; and in Bristol Cathedral he was raised to the cardinalate and given a red hat.[3]

The great merit of an eighteenth-century altar piece is the way

[1] *The Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. by C. H. Evelyn White (1885), p. 23; cf., Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus*, pp. 139, 159, for a mention of Moses and Aaron standing each side of the Decalogue in Chichester and Exeter Cathedrals when the Civil War broke out. The earliest existing examples are said to be those at Stokesay, Shropshire where they flank the Decalogue in the nave, and are probably mid-seventeenth century in date.

[2] The case was concerned with the setting-up of pictures of the thirteen apostles at the east end of Moulton Church, Lincolnshire. The parishioners applied for a faculty, which was refused by both the bishop and his chancellor; they appealed to the Court of Arches and won their case (Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Judgements*, 380–2; cf. also Laud, *Works*, iv, pp. 199–200).

[3] Until it was destroyed by enemy action, the reredos at St. Nicholas's, Deptford, c. 1697, was a splendid example of one containing pictures of Moses and Aaron. It filled the whole altar recess; in the centre was the Decalogue, and above in an oval frame a stained-glass panel of the Adoration of the Shepherds. On the north side of the Decalogue were Moses and the Lord's Prayer, and on the south Aaron and the Belief. The pediment was crowned with the royal arms of William III, and on the north and south sides of the recess were paintings of St. John the Evangelist and an unknown prophet. Halston Chapel, Shropshire, still has a good reredos of the same type; over the altar is the Decalogue flanked by Moses and Aaron; and on the north wall of the altar recess is the Lord's Prayer and on the south the Belief. Over the chancel arch at Ashburnham, Sussex, is a wooden panel with the Decalogue, flanked by Moses and Aaron. It is dated 1676, and until 1893 was placed over the altar. Other good pictures of Moses and Aaron, which were once part of an altar-piece, hang on the nave walls at Leominster, Herefordshire, and Holbeach St. Mark's, Lincolnshire; the latter originally came from Holbeach Parish Church. On the east wall of Ravenstonedale Church, Westmorland (Plan 46), are two boards dated 1747. One has the Decalogue supported by Moses and Aaron; the other the Belief and Lord's Prayer supported by St. Peter with his key and St. John with his chalice. According to Benjamin Webb (*Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology*, pp. 17, 89), a church in Antwerp had its high altar flanked by statues of Moses and Aaron, and pictures of Aaron and Melchisideck were once common in the churches of Mainz.

in which, with a few exceptions, it does not overshadow the altar or attempt to rival it like so many late Gothic and baroque structures. The reredos remains secondary and the chief object in the altar place is the altar itself, to which the reredos calls attention.

In eighteenth-century ecclesiology an altar should have not only a reredos behind and a painted ceiling or canopy above but also communion rails in front. Rails are not mentioned in the Prayer Book of 1662, and only in a very few visitation articles of Restoration bishops do questions about them occur.[1] But by degrees they came to be regarded as the normal accompaniment of the altar; and a naked altar, as one without rails was called, a sign of slovenliness in the care of a church. Rails were often coloured;[2] nor were they always of wood; wrought-iron was sometimes used, and beautiful examples of this type of rail still exist.[3] The space which the rails fenced off at the east end was as a rule, one or two steps higher than the rest of the church. Bishop Matthew Wren in his visitation articles of 1662, supposes that the rails will normally run across the chancel from the north to the south walls; but this is not the case; generally rails of this period have their ends turned to the east wall. In many churches this was probably done to make more room for pews; but it had the effect of perpetuating to a great extent the pre-Laudian practice, and enabling the communicants to kneel round at least three sides of the altar. Where the chancel was narrow or filled with monuments, rails with their ends turned to the east wall came some way into the chancel (cf. Plans 7 and 28),[4] or

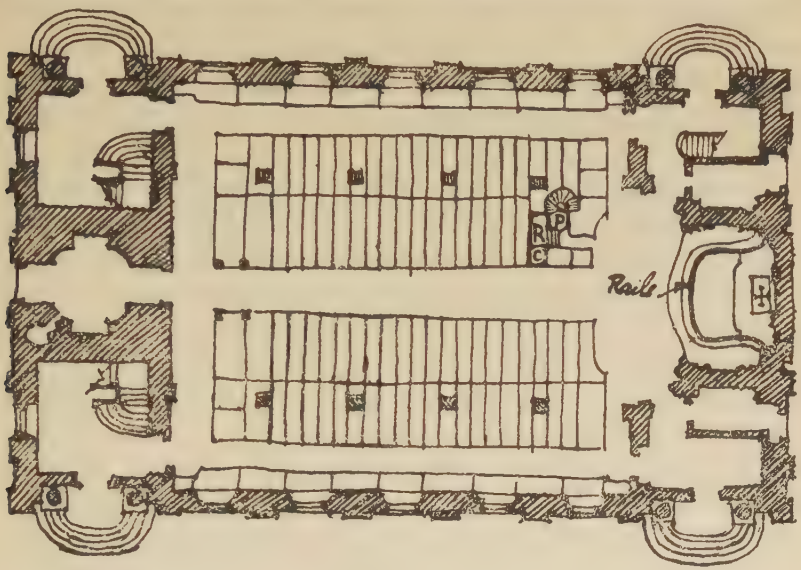
[1] A detailed question about them occurs in the visitation articles of Matthew Wren for the diocese of Ely in 1662. He asks: 'Have you also a decent rail of wood (or some other comely enclosure covered with cloth or silk) placed handsomely above those steps before the holy table, near one yard high, and reaching cross from the north wall to the south; (except by the order of the diocesan it be made with ends returning unto the east wall) with two convenient doors to open before the table?' (*Ritual Report*, p. 557b footnote). The cloth or silk which Wren expected should cover the rails is a houseling cloth, which as has already been pointed out was not always of linen (v.s.p. 146).

[2] White was the favourite colour; but there are instances of rails being painted green, black and white, yellow, yellow and black. Shobdon, Herefordshire (Plan 45), and Ballymakenny, Co. Louth (Plan 12), still have white-painted altar rails.

[3] E.g., the chapel of the Rotunda Hospital, Dublin; Foremark, Derbyshire (Plan 6); Swithland, Leicestershire; Warkworth, Northumberland; Lydiard Tregoze, Wiltshire. All Hallows', Barking, had brass rails, dating from 1750, and St. James's, Piccadilly (Plan 10), fine marble rails, like those in baroque churches abroad. Simple rails of wrought or cast iron, often with a mahogany handrail, were common in the early nineteenth century; see Plate XI for a Spanish example.

[4] At Kedington, Suffolk, are some splendid rails, c. 1707, which have their ends turned to the east wall, and enclose a space some twelve feet square. The rails were put

described a five-sided course (cf. Plans 8, 20, and 31),[1] or flowed out into the chancel in a segment or semi-circle (cf. Plan 36),[2] or even ran a considerable way down into the chancel and formed a long narrow enclosure.[3] Where churches had these types of rail, a



Plan 36

ST. MARTIN-IN-THE-FIELDS, London. *Built 1726 to the designs of James Gibbs. The plan shows the internal arrangement as existing in 1825. Note the elaborately curved lines of the altar rails, reminiscent of baroque churches on the Continent and providing for a considerable number of communicants at one time. Note also the ample communicants' space in front of the rails. See also Plate III.*

---

up by the executors of Sir Samuel Barnardiston, 1620–1707, out of money he left for the beautifying of the church; as a young man he served in the Parliamentary forces in the Civil War, and the shape of his head is said to have been responsible for them being nicknamed roundheads.

[1] Harefield, Middlesex, has rails surrounding the altar on five sides; they were brought from Belgium and put up about 1840; the rails themselves are Flemish renaissance work. St. Dunstan's-in-the-West also has this type of rail dating from the time when the church was built in 1830.

[2] There are good examples of segmental altar railing in St. Catherine's, Dublin; Christ Church, Bristol; Great Offley, Hertfordshire.

[3] Coxwold, Yorkshire, has rails which run down the chancel like this; they were put up in 1777. Similar rails can be seen in Hogarth's picture of the marriage of Mr. Stephen Beckington and Miss Mary Coxon.

good number of the communicants, sometimes as many as sixty, were able to kneel to receive Communion at the same time;[1] and the corporate nature of the service was thus brought out.[2]

The altar rails play a part in another service in the Prayer Book besides the Holy Communion, and that is the marriage service, the second half of which is ordered to be solemnized 'before the Lord's Table'. The reason for the rubric is that the Prayer Book up to 1662 presumed that a marriage would be immediately followed by a celebration; and the rubric at the end of the marriage service read: 'The new married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the Holy Communion.'[3] The Presbyterian divines at the Savoy Conference objected to the rubric on the ground that the man and woman who were getting married might not necessarily be communicants and also that the 'divertisements' attending a wedding made it an unsuitable time for the celebration of the Holy Communion.[4] Perhaps in deference to such views, the rubric was altered in the 1662 Prayer Book to 'It is convenient that the new married persons should receive the Holy Communion at the time of their marriage, or at the first opportunity after their marriage.'[5] For the second half of the marriage service, and possibly for the whole of it when there was no distinction between nave and chancel, the man and woman stood or knelt outside the rails, and the priest inside; and in order to show that the marriage service had its own special place in the church and that place near the altar, because the Prayer Book recommends the newly married pair to receive Communion the same day, the gates in the rails were sometimes made to form

[1] E.g., the rails put up in Southwark Cathedral about 1626 (Stow, *Survey of London* (ed. 1720), ii, p. 15).

[2] At St. Osyth, Essex, there used to be some rails which did not surround the altar, but formed a separate enclosure in front of it in the shape of an elongated horseshoe; on the west side was a gate, and the people came and knelt inside to receive Communion, the priest going round the outside of the rails. The arrangement disappeared when the church was restored at the end of the nineteenth century. In Chambers, *Divine Worship*, p. 402, is a reproduction of an engraving which shows an altar with a square enclosure in front. But here the communicants kneel on the outside of the rails, and the clergy are inside the enclosure; a paten and flagon are balanced precariously on the rail.

[3] For a Communion service following a wedding, prior to 1662, see *Surtees Society*, xxii, p. 136; lxxxiv, p. 120; *Yorks. Arch Jour.*, xviii, pp. 205, 333, 337. But such instances are rare.

[4] Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 331, 360.

[5] Writing after the Restoration, both Wheatly (*Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, ch. x, 9), and John Shepherd (*A Critical and Practical Elucidation of the Book of Common Prayer* (1801), ii, pp. 374–5), highly commend the practice of following the marriage service with the Communion and see nothing strange in it.

a space, often semi-circular, projecting into the church, and about three feet across, in which the priest stood to read the service.[1]

Communion rails called attention to the altar and protected it from secular use, and they also added to the beauty of the east end. In churches where the altar and the rails were put in at the same time, the opening in the rails which is made when the gates are folded back is often almost identical in length with that of the altar.[2] It is possible that this may have some connection with a tradition current in part of the North of England that the gates should be left open during divine service. The rails with the gates open, form a dignified approach to the altar and throw it into relief, and yet allow the whole front to be seen. The tradition of the open gates was said to symbolize the call which the Church makes to the faithful to draw near to the divine mysteries.

3. *The Altar and its Furniture*

Within the rails stood the communion table, called indiscriminately the table, the holy table, the altar table, the altar.[3] It sometimes stood a few feet forwards from the east wall; and this was done either to bring it a little nearer to the congregation in the nave or to give a sense of spaciousness to the altar arrangements.[4] On one or both sides of the altar might be a chair facing west, a reminder of the days when the clergy were seated in the apse facing the congregation. The altar tended to be much smaller than its predecessor of Elizabethan or Jacobean days; sometimes almost square.[5]

[1] Two churches in York, St. Michael-le-Belfrey and Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, still have rails with such semi-circular gates. Compare Plate VII.

[2] E.g., the altar (1687) and rails (1704) in St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham.

[3] Cf. De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, pp. 5, 39, 44, 148, 150, 275, for phrase 'table d'Autel' used in connection with the altar.

[4] By long tradition the altar, though railed, has always stood a few feet from the east wall in the church of Kirk Merrington, Co. Durham; cf. Wilson, *Churches of Lindisfarne*, p. 101, for a plan of Elsdon Church in Northumberland as it was in 1870 (Plan 21) with the altar a few feet from the east wall and curved rails in front. It is an ancient liturgical tradition that the altar even when at the east end should stand detached so that it can be censed on all four sides; though the eighteenth century most certainly did not set the altar like this with the tradition in mind.

[5] One of the smallest of eighteenth-century altar tables is in Redland Church, Bristol, opened as a chapel in 1743. The table measures two feet by three feet; the front is supported by an eagle with outstretched wings, and the sides by winged semi-figures; both the eagle and figures are gilded. It is too small for modern ceremonial and is now used as a credence table. The altar tables in this period varied usually between three feet and five feet in length, two feet and three feet in breadth, and in height between

Altars were kept small in order to economize space and so make room for pews; and when there was no need to do this, churchmen often preferred small altars because they were the rule in the early Church.[1] The position of the celebrant may also have affected the size of the altar; he stood at the north end; and at the south end would be the epistoler and gospeller if there were three ministers taking part in the service. The position of the ministers being such, it was both more seemly and convenient that a communion table placed altar-wise against the east wall should be small and almost square and not a long structure. The altar was in the shape of a table, normally of wood and movable; and the eighteenth century took pride in having gracious examples of the English furniture makers' art. Sometimes the *mensa* was of marble or stone and the frame of wood;[2] or a stone *mensa* might be supported by wrought-iron brackets,[3] or the whole altar might be stone.[4] There was no doctrinal significance attached to a stone as distinct from a wooden altar. Some stone altars were quite elaborate pieces of work, like the one given to Beverley Minster about 1717, which was described as a 'plain slab of veined marble, supported by three trefoil arches

---

two-and-a-half feet and three feet. The altars were low, perhaps because a good deal of the Communion service was read kneeling. Some parishes continuing a late medieval practice fitted their altars with cupboards and even drawers for the Communion plate and linen; these cupboards can still be seen in the altars at Dale, Derbyshire (Plan 42) and Rahan, Co. Cork; cf. Braun, *Der Christliche Altar*, i, pp. 212–16.

[1] Up till the fourteenth century medieval altars were usually four-square; cf. *English Altars from Illuminated Manuscripts* (Alcuin Club Collections), i, 1899.

[2] Eighteenth-century stone altars on a wooden frame are still in use at Holy Trinity, Hull, 1770; Foremark, Derbyshire; Little Washbourne, Gloucestershire; Walesby, Lincolnshire; St. Olaf, Waterford. The latter is a stone *mensa* of black Kilkenny marble on a wooden frame with cabriole legs; it was put in the church when it was rebuilt in 1733–4 by Dr. Thomas Milles, the Bishop of Waterford. On the *mensa* is this inscription:

Altare Stⁱ Olavi Waterford

Aᵒ Dⁿⁱ 1733

In Co Louth, the churches at Carlingford and Dundalk have each an eighteenth-century stone *mensa*, which was originally on a wooden frame; the present bases are modern. At Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, the white marble *mensa* of the altar put up in 1726 is still in use with a modern base in the St. Margaret's Chapel.

[3] This type of stone altar is still in use at Chesterton, Huntingdonshire; Loughborough, Leicestershire; St. Mary's, Beverley. Derby Cathedral once possessed an altar of this type, put up when the church was built in 1725. It was removed in 1878. The parish evidently cared enough for it in 1835 to pay eight pounds thirteen shillings for having the wrought-iron supports gilded.

[4] In Steane Church, Northamptonshire, is an altar of statuary and *verdo antico* marble, given by Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, in 1720. Between 1834 and 1837 a beautifully proportioned stone altar was placed in Armagh Cathedral; it now stands in the retro-choir.

in front, and two on each side; the spandrells plain and the points of the arches terminating in roses.'[1]

The altar was not, as a rule, left uncovered; it had a carpet or altar cloth, which normally went over all four sides, either fitting closely, or falling in folds at the corners. Sometimes the altar cloth had flounces like the cover of a Victorian dressing-table; and sometimes it was only a frontal. Frontlets were occasionally used. The material might be cloth, velvet, silk or satin; velvet would seem to have been the most favoured; a few places used a Persian carpet. As in the period before the Restoration, there was no attempt to follow a colour sequence; cathedrals and well-to-do parishes would have one for ordinary use and one for festivals; while in Lent and times of national mourning black was customary.[2] Colours in general use included purple, blue, green, yellow, plum, maroon, crimson, scarlet, and red, or combinations of colours such as white silk shot with gold, dark green worked with yellow, or black velvet embroidered with gold stars; or materials such as gold and silver tissue, and cloth of silver. Some frontals were paned; cloth of gold and blue damask, purple cloth and crimson damask, figured velvet paned with gold stuff and flowered with silver. The most popular colour was crimson. The covering would have a heavy fringe of silver or gold, and embroidered on the front would be the I H S in a glory or the instruments of the Passion or even the arms of the donor. One of the most magnificent of these coverings must have been the carpet of 'fine orange coloured satin lined with silk' which Archbishop Thomas Lamplugh gave to the church at Thwing, Yorkshire, in 1691[3]. Gifts of frontals went on through the period. Gainsborough Church once possessed a cover of rich velvet and cloth of gold; it was part of the spoil taken at the battle of Dettingen, and was given to the church in 1746 by an officer who had taken part in the battle; a hundred years later it was said to have been still beautiful in spite of having faded.[4] At the back of one of

[1] George Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley*, p. 333

[2] Cf. De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 37, where he says that black was the usual colour in Vienne Cathedral during Advent and from Septuagesima to Easter.

[3] For further details about altar coverings in this period, see *Hierurgia Anglicana*, i, pp. 50–3; *Bonney's Church Notes*; Cox and Harvey, *English Church Furniture*, pp. 348–50; Wickham Legg, *English Church Life*, pp. 136–8.

[4] W. B. Stonehouse, *A Stow Visitation*, ed. by N. S. Harding (Lincoln, 1940), p. 60.

the churchwardens' account books belonging to Ryton Church in Co. Durham, is an entry dated the 11th of October 1757 which relates how Mr. Alderman Simpson presented a piece of red velvet with broad gold lace round it to the church. As it fitted the altar, the rector decided to use it for an altar covering; he added some more red cloth and a fringe, and himself gave two new cushions for the Communion service books.

Nothing but a carpet or covering is ordered by Canon LXXXII to be put on the altar; and generally speaking nothing else was put on when there was no Communion service. In some instances there might be two candlesticks and cushions for the service books; but there was clearly a deep and widespread tradition that the altar outside the time of the Communion service should be kept free from unnecessary ornaments. When the Communion was to be celebrated, the parish clerk covered the altar with a fair linen cloth; and also set out on the altar itself the paten, chalice, flagon, and alms bason. The bread would be already on the paten and the wine in the chalice; and the communion vessels would be covered with a napkin, which was also used in accordance with the rubric in the Prayer Book of 1662 to cover the consecrated elements from the reception of Communion till the end of the service. At one or both ends of the altar was a cushion with a service book and markers with gold fringes[1] often reaching almost to the ground. A few clergy like Bishop George Bull, the great theologian, may have taken the elements from a side-table, or table of the Prothesis as High Church divines liked to call it, or even received them from the parish clerk and placed them on the altar at the Offertory;[2] but it was much more usual for the parish clerk on Sacrament Sundays to set out the communion plate and the elements on the altar before the morning service began. All was thus ready for the celebrant when he left the reading pew and came to the altar at the Offertory. On great festi-

[1] What we now call Altar Service books were not unknown. At Canterbury in 1735 they had 'two new Second Service Books with ribbons and gold fringe upon the table', and two cushions of crimson velvet with four gold tassels each (J. Wickham Legg and H. St. J. Hope, *Inventories of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 294).

[2] Robert Nelson, *The Life of George Bull*, p. 53, prefixed to the 1846 edition of Bull's works, says the bishop offered the elements 'before he began the Communion service'; this possibly may mean the first Our Father. But in view of the fact that Nelson is commending the bishop for his exact performance of the Prayer Book rubrics it is much more probable that he uses the phrase 'Communion service' as was commonly done in the eighteenth century in the restricted sense of the part of the service from the Offertory to the Blessing.

vals all the plate was set out on the altar, whether it was needed or not; and in some churches part of it was arranged on shelves placed for the purpose at the back of the altar.[1]

In the way in which it treated the altar in the eighteenth century the Church of England was following a very old tradition of western Christendom, a tradition of keeping down to a minimum the ornaments on the altar, and one which was due to the belief that it was desirable on grounds of reverence and fitness to have nothing on the altar but what was necessary for the celebration of the divine mysteries according to the rubrics of the service book. The tradition was still kept up in a few French cathedrals at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and survived a good deal longer in Spain.[2] But in spite of the protests of the great liturgists which the French church produced at this time, the practice of crowding the altar with a gradine, six candlesticks, the crucifix, flowers, and altar cards was on the increase.[3] In the cathedrals of Vienne, Lyons, Tours, Nevers, Le Mans, and Rouen there were no ornaments whatever on the high altar; for the Mass candlesticks were sometimes put out on the altar itself; but more usually they were on top of the retable or riddel posts, or set round the altar on the sanctuary floor. At Tours a crucifix was placed on the altar just before Mass began, and removed immediately afterwards. There was generally either a crucifix on top of the retable, or on the retable itself a picture of the crucifixion.[4]

[1] This is, of course, a very old practice, and is still common in Spain; but here the plate is often exhibited on buffets placed against the side walls of the sanctuary (*Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.*, iv, pp. 122–5). These altar shelves were apparently not uncommon: at St. Bartholomew, Broad St. Ward, the table was of 'porphyry, with a step for candlesticks of the same material, supported by richly carved and gilt feet.' At St. Clement Danes, the table was also of porphyry as were 'two steps for candlesticks upon it'. This *mensa* was supported on a 'frame of wrought iron gilt' with rails to match (Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, ii, p. 426; iii, p. 395). Other examples of such shelves could be quoted. (See Plate IX.)

[2] Cf. William Bradford, *Chronological and Historical Retrospect of the Memorable Events of the War in the Peninsula* (London, 1813), p. 27, for an aquatint of the interior of the Dominican church at Salamanca, showing the altar covered with a plain red frontal, falling in folds at the corners, and with only two candlesticks on it; there is no crucifix, only a picture at the back. In front of the altar are plain iron rails. The altar is made to appear almost exactly like many of the same period in Anglican churches. (See Plate XI.)

[3] See Lazare André Bocquillot, *Traité Historique de La Liturgie Sacrée, ou de la Messe* (Paris, 1701), pp. 103–5.

[4] De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques de France*, pp. 5, 44–5, 114–15, 145, 220–1, 275–6. At Port-Royal (p. 234) a crucifix only was kept on the altar. Cf. his description of the high altar in the church at Cléry (p. 219), 'L'autel est fort simple, point de chandeliers dessus.' See also Dom Claude de Vert, *Explication des Cérémonies de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1709–13), iii, pp. 37–8; iv, pp. 30–40.

In England, cathedrals, college chapels and a fair number of parish churches had candlesticks on the altar; but they were usually regarded as part of the communion plate, and put out with it and removed after the service; they may also have been put out for Evensong.[1] They were not necessarily lighted; in fact, the practice of lighting the candles on the altar, except at Evensong[2] when it was necessary to use them for lighting the church, may have died out after the beginning of the eighteenth century.[3] Something like the medieval and contemporary French practice of placing candlesticks either round the altar or on the retable was not unknown. The Laudian communion rails at Puddletown in Dorset have brass candlesticks at their four corners; and in the chapel of Peterhouse Cambridge, are some post-Restoration rails, which once had at their western angles round wooden stands on which candlesticks used to be placed.[4] Since candles were not often lighted, the period saw no objection to having sham ones round the altar. Wooden candlesticks with tapers carved and gilded to look as if they were burning were fixed on the top of the reredos. Three, seven or eight was the usual number; contemporary documents speak of them as an emblem of the light of the Gospel;[5] and where

[1] Cf. Walcot, *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals*, p. 162. The custom of only setting the candles out at the time of a celebration persisted into mid-Victorian times in the cathedrals of Salisbury, Ely, Exeter, Lichfield, and Christ Church and St. Patrick's, Dublin. At Durham they were set out regularly on Sunday mornings and seemingly lighted whether it was a Sacrament Sunday or not (*Surtees Society*, lii, p. xxvii, footnote).

[2] At an Evensong in York Minster in October 1769, the Rev. William Richardson, a clergyman of evangelical sympathies afterwards sub-chanter of the Minster, was much moved by, to quote his own words, 'the two distant candles glimmering like stars at a distance upon the altar' (Mrs. Edwin Gray, *Papers and Diaries of a York Family, 1764–1839* (London, 1927), p. 13).

[3] For the whole question of the use of lighted candles in this period, see E. S. Roscoe, *The Bishop of Lincoln's Case* (1891), pp. 156–70, 177–89. There were rarely more than two candlesticks actually on the altar; and in Wales there are instances of one candlestick being used, as was so often done in the Middle Ages (Hughes and North, *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, pp. 159, 217). Candlesticks in parish churches were probably more common than is sometimes supposed. In London, All Hallows', Barking; St. Benedict's, Gracechurch Street, and St. Botolph's, Aldersgate Street, are noted incidentally as having altar candlesticks (Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, i, p. 323; ii, pp. 421, 550), and two large candlesticks on the altar of Chelsea Hospital Chapel are mentioned in an inventory of 1691–2 (*Wren Society*, xix, p. 74). In the eighteenth century St. Nicholas's, Newcastle-on-Tyne, now the cathedral, was presented with a pair of brass candlesticks in memory of Nathaniel Ellison, vicar, 1694–1721 (*Arch. Ael.* 4th Series, ix, p. 181); and a large pair of candlesticks 'for the use of the Communion' were given to St. Mary's, Shrewsbury (H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury* (1825), ii, p. 395).

[4] Wickham Legg, *English Church Life*, p. 143.

[5] *Surtees Society*, l, p. 426. In the Injunctions of Edward VI in 1547 the burning of all

there were seven of them the number may have been suggested by the seven golden candlesticks in the Book of Revelation.[1]

One other ornament of the altar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries deserves some notice. In numerous cathedrals and monastic churches in the Middle Ages it was customary to honour the Gospels by placing a specially bound copy of them, known as the *textus*, on the altar. In the *Rites of Durham* there is a description of how at the beginning of Mass the Gospeller brought in a 'marvellous fair Book, which had the Epistles and Gospels in it—which book had on the outside of the covering the picture of Our Saviour Christ, all of silver, of goldsmith's work all parcel gilt very fine to behold'. From this *textus* the Epistle and Gospel were sung.[2] The honouring of the Gospels in the liturgy was perpetuated in the Church of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by placing upright at the back of the altar specially bound copies of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. The custom chiefly obtained in cathedrals; but it was practised also in some parish churches.[3] The Reverend William Cole, the antiquary and friend of Horace Walpole, when he celebrated the Eucharist always placed on the altar a Prayer Book which had been used by Charles I when he held his court at Oxford during the Civil War.[4] Sometimes it

candles and tapers before images is forbidden; but two lights are suffered to remain on the high altar 'for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world' (Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i, p. 7); cf. Cosin, *Works*, v, p. 232, where they are said 'to signify the joy and splendour we receive from the light of Christ's blessed Gospel'.

[1] The best surviving example of a reredos with sham candlesticks is in All Hallows', Twickenham; it was moved here from All Hallows', Lombard Street, when the latter was pulled down in 1939. Other London churches which once had them on the reredos were St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Clement Danes, St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, and Southwark Cathedral. In 1783 three are mentioned on the top of the reredos at Bledlow, Buckinghamshire, one at the apex of the pediment, and one at each end (*Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.*, v, p. 241).

[2] *Surtees Society*, cvii, pp. 8–9, 200. In the chapter library in Durham Cathedral is a drawing by J. T. Micklethwaite of the high altar of the cathedral on the eve of the Reformation, based on the account in the *Rites of Durham*. The *Textus* is shown placed upright outside the candlestick on the Epistle side.

[3] Two books were regularly placed upright at the back of the altar in St. Margaret's, Westminster, in the eighteenth century, and may be seen in the photographs of two engravings in H. F. Westlake, *St. Margaret's, Westminster* (1914), pp. 70, 94. In Neale and Le Keux, *Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain* (1824), ii, is an engraving of the altar in the Abbey Church, Shrewsbury, with two books placed upright against the reredos, and also two candlesticks. In the vestry of St. Andrew's, Dublin, is a drawing of the altar in the previous church burnt down in 1860. The altar has a crimson cover, with two books placed upright at the back and an alms bason between them.

[4] F. G. Stokes, *The Blecbley Diary of the Rev. William Cole, M.A., F.S.A., 1765–7*, (1931), p. xxvii.

might be a Bible or Prayer Book placed in the centre of the altar, like the folio Bible with its covers of beaten silver, double gilt, which Dean Turner gave to Canterbury Cathedral.[1] Sometimes the Bible was in two volumes, the one containing the Old Testament, the other the Apocrypha and the New Testament.[2] A Bible and a Prayer Book were very common;[3] or there might be two Prayer Books like those which the government gave to Westminster Abbey for the coronation of William IV in 1831 and ordered to be set apart as 'ornaments to be placed at the altar.'[4] In York Minster in the eighteenth century, the custom took the form of placing four books along the back of the high altar, the Bible and the Prayer Book, and the Bible in two volumes.[5]

The parish of Christ Church, Bristol, affords an interesting example of the taste and money which were lavished on the altar arrangements in what is often regarded as rather a dead period in Anglican history. In 1786 the medieval church was pulled down, and a new one begun, William Paty, an exquisite craftsman, being employed to build it. The east end when completed must have been an unrivalled example of English rococo. The altar-piece, which

[1] J. Wickham Legg and H. St. John Hope, *The Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, pp. 278–9. Cf. Chambers, *Divine Worship*, p. 286, for a reproduction of an engraving of the high altar in St. Paul's Cathedral, published in 1698, with two candlesticks, and placed between them what is either a Bible or a Prayer Book. (See Plate IX.) In the eighteenth century what was described as a 'large Bible for the communion table' was given to St. Mary's, Shrewsbury (H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury* (1825), ii, p. 395).

[2] Two folio volumes containing the Bible used to stand on the altar in St. George's, Windsor, and the Chapels Royal at Whitehall and St. James's Palace (J. Wickham Legg, *Church Ornaments and their Civil Antecedents* (Cambridge, 1917), pp. 17–18).

[3] At Christ Church, Oxford, Winchester Cathedral, and the chapel in Auckland Castle are elaborately bound copies of the Bible and Prayer Book which were given in the seventeenth century and are still used as altar ornaments. The books at Christ Church were given in 1638 and can be seen, placed one behind each candlestick, in an engraving in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. 1817), ii, p. 135. The Winchester books were given by Charles II; they are shown placed against the dossal between two candlesticks in an engraving in Samuel Stebbing, *A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England*, continuing Francis Sandford (1707), p. 22. (See Plate X.)

[4] Perkins, *Westminster Abbey*, i, pp. 101–2.

[5] See the engraving in Francis Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), p. 522. The Bible and Prayer Book were bought in 1633 along with some altar plate out of a thousand-pound fine, which had been imposed in the Court of High Commission and which Charles I granted to the Minster for amongst other things furnishing and adorning the altar. The Bible and Prayer Book are bound in crimson velvet with silver gilt bosses and clasps, and in an inventory of 1681 are described as 'for the altar table' (*Surtees Society*, xxxv, pp. 316–7, 319–22). The two volumes of the Bible, one with the Old Testament, the other with the Apocrypha and the New Testament, were given by Archbishop Lamplugh and are also bound in crimson velvet. An engraving, dated 1771, of the high altar in Durham Cathedral shows three books placed against the dossal, presumably a Bible with a Prayer Book on each side.

was of deal painted in blue and white, consisted of three compartments, for the Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer, framed in columns and pilasters. The columns were wreathed with flowers, and the frieze and pilasters decorated with bay leaves, flowers, husks, and knotted ribbons. The segmental pediment had an I H S in a glory, gilded on a blue ground; and on the top was a mitre with an urn at each end. The altar-piece cost a hundred and five pounds. Twenty-one pounds were spent on the mahogany altar-table, and just over thirty-one pounds on the wrought-iron railing which went round the altar in a segment. The altar-table is painted white with gilded ornament and is segmental in shape. It was never intended to have a covering apart from the fair linen cloth at the actual Communion; but the front of the table is carved with the usual ornament of a frontal, the I H S in a glory.[1] The altar arrangements were eventually completed by the addition of two solid silver candlesticks for which ninety pounds were paid.[2]

[1] Cf. Braun, *Der Christliche Altar*, i, pp. 349–50, for an account of the Spanish practice of carving and decorating the front of stone altars to look as though they had a frontal and frontlet, complete with fringes and orphreys.

[2] Dering, *The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Bristol*, pp. 132–42, 154. Plate XLIX shows a reconstruction of Paty's reredos; it is no longer *in situ*; but part has been re-erected in a rood-screen. The altar-table is in a side-chapel.

Chapter VI

THE ALTAR AND THE PEOPLE

1. The Communicants and the Altar

Although the eighteenth century evolved a dignified setting for the altar at the east end of a medieval or auditory church, it was faced with the same difficulty which confronted the Laudian divines, the difficulty of bringing the congregation reasonably near the altar for both Altar Prayers and the actual Communion service. Communicants in this period attached very great importance both to hearing the words of Consecration and to seeing the manual actions which are prescribed in the Prayer Book of 1662. Devotional books provided prayers and meditations, headed, for instance, with the words: 'See here what reflections thou art to make, when thou seest the holy bread broken before thine eyes in this sacrament';[1] and prayers were also given for communicants to use when they saw the celebrant just before the Consecration of the Wine pour it from the flagon into the chalice, a practice which was common in the period and held to signify and represent the shedding of Our Lord's precious blood on Cavalry.[2]

It was found impossible to continue the Laudian practice of reading Altar Prayers at the altar; and as has already been explained,[3] the practice at any rate in the ordinary parish churches fell into disuse after the Restoration; normally the service was read from the reading desk. Bishop Pococke, however, when he visited Selby

[1] Anthony Horneck, *The Crucified Jesus* (ed., Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1774), p. 69.
[2] *Fragmenta Liturgica* (1848), v, p. 221; Bishop Thomas Wilson, *Works*, iv, p. 275.
[3] v.s.p. 141.

Abbey in 1751, mentions that the clerk went to the communion table and stood on the Epistle side to make the responses;[1] so here, at any rate, the minister must have read Altar Prayers from the north end of the altar. Lord Torrington, when he visited Corwen in 1793, noted with some surprise that the clergyman still took the service at the altar.[2] But these cases were exceptional.

In parish churches which had a large chancel the communicants were still able to assemble in it at the Offertory, and to kneel facing the altar (cf. Plans 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 28, 31, 33, and 34), as they are seen doing in the frontispiece to Wheatly's *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, 1714. See Plate I. Communion manuals of the period take the practice for granted. The *Officium Eucharisticum*, which Edward Lake wrote for the guidance of the future Queen Mary II, has the following direction: 'Sermon ended, you go to the altar'; and then acts of adoration are provided from the fifth chapter of the Book of Revelation, which are to be said prostrate before the altar; there are also prayers 'whilst others are coming up, and the priest preparing to read the Sentences'.[3] *The New Week's Preparation for a Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper*, an eighteenth-century communion manual which went through many editions, includes all the Communion office from the Offertory to the Blessing with directions for prayers and behaviour. Before the Offertory Sentences the communicant is advised to drop all thoughts of earthly things 'at your approach to the chancel'; the alms are collected from the communicants in the chancel and they depart from the holy table after the Blessing.[4] Seats or benches continued to be provided along the side walls of the chancel 'for the use of the people when they communicate' (cf. Plans 6, 14, 24, and 31), as an eighteenth-century law book says,[5] and matting spread on the floor. In the old parish

[1] *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke*, i, p. 173.

[2] *The Torrington Diaries*, iii, p. 251.

[3] Edward Lake, *Officium Eucharisticum* (ed. 1683), p. 64.

[4] *The New Week's Preparation* (ed. 1789), pp. 102, 127; cf. *A Companion to the Altar: Shewing the Nature and Necessity of a Sacramental Preparation, in order to our worthy receiving the Holy Communion* (1768), p. 41, where a prayer entitled 'At going up to the Altar' precedes one to be used at the giving of alms. This Companion was generally bound up with a copy of the Prayer Book.

[5] John Johnson, *The Clergyman's Vade-Mecum* (ed. 1723), i, p. 179. In 1684–5 the parish of Gateshead set aside some money for 'erecting new seats in the chancel for the convenience of hearing God's word, and receiving the holy Sacraments' (*Surtees Society*, l, p. 426). Egglescliffe and Sedgefield, Co. Durham, have stalls of the Restora-

church of Leeds the chancel measured some eighty by sixty feet; and according to the Leeds antiquary, Ralph Thoresby, it was filled each month twice round with communicants, and on festivals a much greater number; 'one of the most blessed prospects this world affords', he remarks.[1] When Dr. Hook first came to Leeds in 1837, old people remembered what a glorious sight it had been at festivals when there used to be two thousand people, and twenty clergy administering the Sacrament.[2]

When the chancel was not large enough to hold all the communicants, the practice adopted by Bishop Davenant before the Civil War was followed.[3] Celebrations were spread over several Sundays round great festivals, till every communicant had been able to come. Dean Granville suggests in his diary that the rubric in the Prayer Book which orders the proper preface at great festivals to be said for seven days afterwards, means that there are to be celebrations for every day in the octave, not just for the sake of a daily celebration but in order to make provision for communicants when they cannot all receive on one day.[4] In a letter which, as Archdeacon of Durham, he addressed to his clergy in 1684, he says that in every large parish there should be a celebration once a month, not apparently in order to encourage monthly communion but because otherwise the Communion service becomes so prolonged by the number of communicants that the clergy cannot conveniently

---

tion period in their chancels, which were possibly put in for the convenience of communicants; but at Sedgefield the stalls nearest the screen form what are really two square pews, in which the seats, with arms and shaped like stalls, face each other; there is some evidence that they served as the rector's family pew (*Surtees Society*, lv, p. 273). In the chancel of the church at Beddgelert there used to be high eighteenth-century box pews, in which were round holes so that the occupants could see the altar (Hughes and North, *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 224). Post-Restoration examples of seating for communicants in the chancel can still be seen at Foremark, Derbyshire; St. Martin's, Exeter; St. Clodock, Herefordshire.

[1] Ralph Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, ed. by T. D. Whitaker (Leeds, 1816), p. 40.

[2] W. R. W. Stephens, *The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook* (ed. 1880), p. 430. The custom of the communicants drawing near the altar at the Invitation is observed in Leeds Parish Church (Plan 52) to-day (v.i.p. 213) and is valued by the older communicants. It is also kept up in a very few places in South Wales, e.g., Llandewi Brefi, Cardiganshire; Llanfair Clydogan, Carmarthenshire. But since the introduction of surpliced choirs into chancels, the custom has gradually died out. For the custom in the last century see John Jebb, *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland* (1843), p. 502; W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica* (1876), pp. 494–6; A. J. Stephens, *Notes on the Book of Common Prayer* (1849), p. 1184. In many parishes in the Church of Ireland the communicants still stand for the Invitation, though they no longer draw near to the altar at this point in the service.

[3] v.s.p. 142.

[4] *Surtees Society*, xlvii, pp. 180–1.

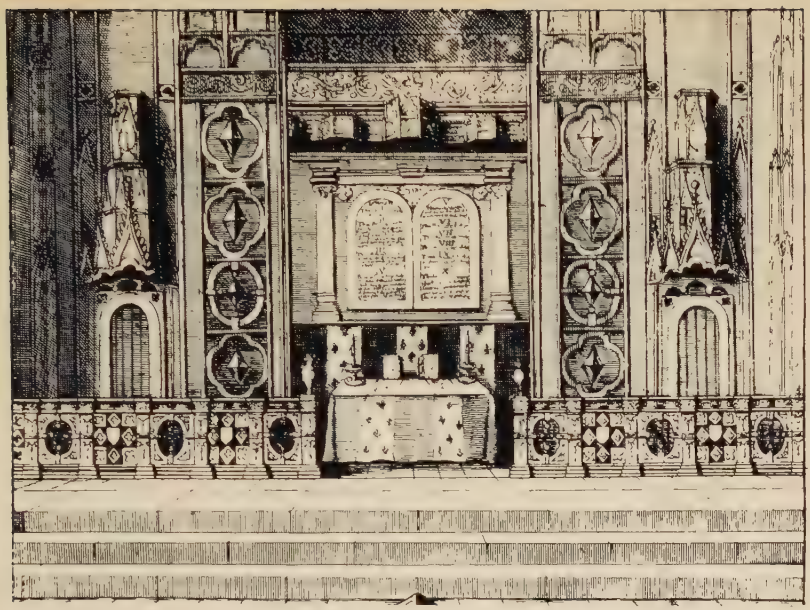


Plate X

The High Altar of Winchester Cathedral at the beginning of the eighteenth century, from an engraving in S. Stebbing, *A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England*, continuing F. Sandford (1707). The altar is furnished with two candlesticks and with specially bound copies of the Bible and Prayer Book, given by Charles II (see pp. 171–2). There is a low dossal and a similar frontal covering the top and sides of the altar, but less full than in many instances of the period (see Plate VIII). The Decalogue is given an architectural setting above the dossal. Note that the opening in the rails is almost identical in length with the altar (see p. 165).

manage the administration if they are single-handed.[1] The return made by the parish of Holy Trinity, Hull, in Archbishop Herring's visitation of 1743, says that the Sacrament has been administered weekly for the previous fourteen years, and for the reason that when celebrations were only monthly the vicar and curate found it difficult to communicate the three hundred people who came; with a weekly celebration there were a hundred communicants the first Sunday in the month and forty the others.[2]

But while there is plenty of evidence to show that communicants gathered near the altar at the Offertory, the practice was by no means universal. At the Restoration Bishop Matthew Wren noted that in most places the communicants did not come up into the chancel.[3] Wheatly writes as if in his day the practice was dying out in London churches. The alms were collected by churchwardens and sidesmen from people in their pews, and the communicants did not draw near the altar at the Invitation, though Wheatly was of the opinion that it would be more proper if they did. On the other hand, he says that in some churches the alms were collected from the communicants as they went into the chancel, which is evidence of the continuance of the practice.[4] But it must have fallen into disuse simply because in many medieval and auditory churches there was no room for the communicants to kneel near the altar. Chancels were either too small or too crowded with family monuments and the pews of lay impropriators.[5] In auditory churches the reading pew and pulpit were often placed only a few feet in front of the altar; pews reached right up to the east end, and there was no clear

[1] *Advice Concerning Strict Conformity and Frequent Celebration of the Holy Communion*, pp. 5, 6, 22, which is appended to a sermon of Granville's entitled *The Compleat Conformist* (1684). Granville's interpretation of the rubric about the proper prefaces is all the more interesting when it is remembered that churchmen to-day following Cosin (*Works*, v, p. 104) often claim that the rubric shows that the Prayer Book intends a daily celebration of the Eucharist when a congregation is available.

[2] *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns* (1743), Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series, LXXII, ii, p. 78.

[3] William Jacobson, *Fragmentary Illustrations of the History of the Book of Common Prayer* (1874), p. 78.

[4] *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, ch. vi, 10, 13–14. John Shepherd, *A Critical and Practical Elucidation of the Book of Common Prayer* (1801), ii, pp. 194–5, says that if the custom is kept up at all, it can only be practised by a small number of communicants.

[5] But even in these cases care seems often to have been taken to leave some empty space near the altar; for instance, in an account of the church at Bellingham, Northumberland, in 1843, then in a dilapidated state and with pews in the chancel, it is expressly said that the part near the communion table was left vacant (*A History of Northumberland*, ed. by M. Hope Dodds, xv, p. 228).

space left near the altar rails sufficient to accommodate a body of communicants of any size (cf. Plans 10, 11, 13, 22, 24, and 38). But when the communicants remained in their pews and did not draw near to the altar till the moment of Communion, the chancel screen, or if there was no screen, the pulpit and reading pew often prevented all but a few from seeing the altar and taking much part in the service. For instance, Bishop Nicolson complained in 1704 that at Penrith a pew called the Merchant's Pew placed, to quote his own words, 'on the left hand coming out of the quire' had a canopy which was a great nuisance, as it drowned the celebrant's voice when he officiated at the altar, and prevented the congregation from seeing the Consecration of the Elements.[1] Here, at any rate, the communicants did not assemble in the chancel, and were accordingly unable to follow the service.

If a church arranged on the principle of three liturgical centres was to be convenient for the celebration of the Eucharist as well as for preaching and reading the offices, it was essential to have an empty space, devoid of pews, between the reading pew and the altar; and the space was so often not there. The principle demanded that the church should be large enough to allow a part to be set aside for the celebrant and communicants at the Eucharist, and not used at any other time. The arrangement therefore worked best in parishes which had inherited a medieval church far larger than was needed for ordinary use, or where the number of communicants was small. But in populous parishes, where every available space had to be filled with pews to seat the ordinary Sunday morning congregation, it was found impracticable to keep a part free for communicants near the altar. Chancels were often found very useful for seating the children; though the seats were generally movable benches which could have been taken away on Sacrament Sundays.

Even a church planned on the principle of three liturgical centres, and with the necessary space near the altar, was not always satisfactory. An empty chancel which was seldom used more than once a month would come to look dirty and neglected, and encouraged the continuance of some of the pre-Laudian abuses; it served as a

[1] *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile*, p. 152. This was the old church at Penrith, pulled down in 1722. Cf. p. 79 for a similar complaint about Mr. Highmore's seat with its furbelowed canopy at Bassenthwaite.

lumber room and in many country parishes for a school.[1] An empty chancel hidden from the rest of the church by a screen was liable to have unfortunate effects on the attitude of people towards the Eucharist. The number of communicants, particularly in an established Church, will always be less than the total churchgoing population. The entry of the communicants into the chancel at the Offertory while the rest of the congregation went home, encouraged the idea, always latent in Anglicanism, that Communion was a reward for being good rather than a preparation for the good life; that it was the privilege of the saintly few rather than the spiritual food of the sinful multitude. When the Sunday morning liturgy was taken from the reading desk in the nave, it appeared to have no visible connection with the altar half-hidden away at the east end; and the ordinary churchgoing population can hardly have been aware of its existence. The principle of arranging a church round three liturgical centres, however commendable it may have been in theory, became in practice unworkable in many churches because of its failure to provide a satisfactory setting for the Eucharist and to make it possible for the mass of the communicants to see the altar.

2. *Various Eighteenth-century Experiments*

At the end of the eighteenth century architects made an extremely interesting and on the whole not unsuccessful attempt to get over the difficulty which had been created by the Church's adherence to the principle of three liturgical centres. The difficulty was due to the fact that the pews had to be arranged with reference to the pulpit and reading desk, because from here the ordinary Sunday morning service was taken; and while the reading desk and altar were each in different parts of the building, it was impossible to arrange the pews so that both could be seen by the congregation. Accordingly, architects adopted the expedient of building auditory churches in which the pulpit, reading desk, and altar were combined at the east end in one group; the pews were naturally arranged to face the east end, and the occupants not only saw the priest in his

[1] Bishop Nicolson complains very much about the way the chancels in the diocese of Carlisle had been spoilt by being used as a school on a week-day (*Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile*, pp. 5, 51, 52, 67, 75, 124). In this respect Wales was better, as schools were generally held in the west end of the church (*Arch. Camb.*, v, 14, pp. 53–4).

desk, but also had a clear view of the altar. On Sacrament Sundays the communicants could follow the Eucharistic action from the pews and had no need to draw near when the priest went to the north end at the Offertory.

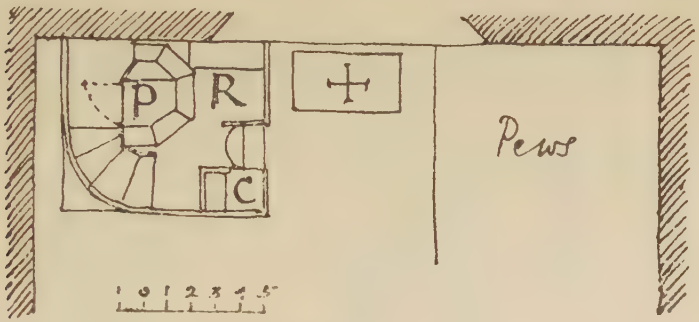
The idea was not new; it had occasionally been adopted in small country churches. An early example is Rug Chapel near Corwen, which Sir John Salusbury built for the people on his estate in 1637. The font is kept at the west end under the singing loft; the altar stands in the middle of the east wall, with a canopied reading pew on the north side, which originally served also as a pulpit, and another canopied pew on the south side, which may be a houseling or a manorial pew.[1] The altar was originally surrounded by rails on three sides, with the gate on the south; a low partition ran across the chapel with an opening in the middle, and formed an approach to both altar and reading pew. The chapel has an angel roof which is worthy of the notice of the most loyal of East Anglians, though it cannot compare with those of St. Wendreda's, March, and Mildenhall. The arrangement of a reading desk by the altar continued to be adopted in small churches and chapels after the Restoration.[2] But when it was taken up by architects for large town churches at the end of the eighteenth century, the reading desk and pulpit were either placed one each side of the altar or else in the centre of the east wall with the altar in front. The font either remained by the door as ordered by the Canon, and the church had two liturgical centres, or a church with one liturgical centre was created by placing the font too at the east end, so that the congregation could see

[1] v.s.p. 115, footnote.

[2] E.g., Beauchief Abbey, near Sheffield (Plan 37), a chapel built out of the ruins of a Premonstratensian house, c. 1670; Dolwyddelan, Carnarvonshire, where the reading pew and pulpit are dated 1711 and stand one each side of the altar; Steane, Northamptonshire, refurnished in 1752. Babington, Somerset, 1750, has the altar in an apse, and the three-storeyed pulpit against the east wall to the north of the apse. Sometimes a three-storeyed pulpit was placed against one of the side walls, a few feet away from the east wall, like the prayer desks in side chapels to-day, e.g., the chapel of Morden College, Blackheath, built by Wren and consecrated in 1700, and St. Olaf's, Waterford, 1734. Cf. Hughes and North, *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, pp. 83–4, for an account of how a reading pew and pulpit were placed one each side of the altar at Llangelynin early in the eighteenth century. The arrangement disappeared when the church was restored in 1924. Llangelynin is one of the places in Wales where holy water continued to be kept in the stoups and used by the people on entering and leaving church up till the early years of the last century. At Embrun Cathedral in the eighteenth century there were beside the high altar what were described as 'deux petites tribunes, comme deux chaires de prédicateurs', from which the Epistle and Gospel were sung (Edm. Martène et Urs. Durand, *Voyage Littéraire de deux Religieux Bénédictins* (Paris, 1717), I, i, p. 268). Such *tribunes* may still be seen at Auch Cathedral.

the christenings after the second lesson at Mattins or Evensong.

The arrangement had been the rule in Lutheran churches since the end of the sixteenth century, when the altar began to be placed below the pulpit. The first German church with one liturgical centre was built in 1618 at Nidda in Upper Hesse. It is a single room with galleries; the altar is in a recess at one end, and placed each side of the arch leading to the recess are the pulpit and font.



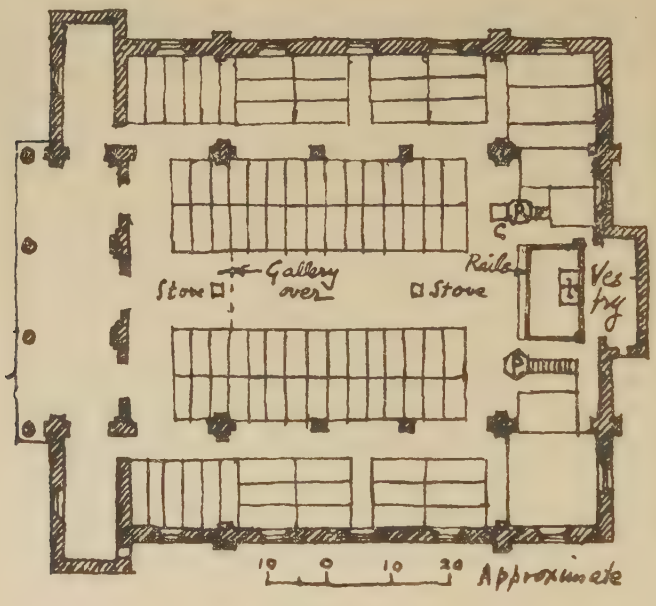
Plan 37

Beauchief Abbey, Derbyshire. *The church was rebuilt c. 1670 by the Pegge family from the ruins of a Premonstratensian Abbey as a private chapel. The pews are of the same date. The three-decker seems to have been altered to some extent in the nineteenth century, but the general arrangement of this in relation to the altar seems to have remained unchanged; it is slightly reminiscent of Dale Church, Plan No. 42.*

Joseph Furttembach, a Lutheran ecclesiologist and Stadtbaumeister at Ulm, writing in 1649 formulated the principle that the chief liturgical objects in a church, the font, the pulpit, the organ, and the altar, should be placed as near each other as possible, and in the sight and hearing of the whole congregation; and the principle was developed by another Lutheran ecclesiologist, Leonard Christoph Sturm, writing in the next century. Sturm disliked the medieval plan and advocated either an oblong auditory church with the pulpit and altar in the middle of one of the longer sides, or a round church with the altar and pulpit in a recess. This second plan proved very popular in eighteenth-century Germany; the classic instance was the Frauenkirche in Dresden. Usually the pulpit was placed over the

altar; but sometimes the altar was on a dais with the pulpit below. The organ towered over them both.

The English examples of this kind of planning do not appear to have been influenced by what was done in Germany. There were tendencies in Anglicanism which made for a church with one liturgical centre. Prynne, for instance, in 1637, had asked why if the east end is the most sacred part of the church 'are not the font and pul-



Plan 38

ST. PHILIP'S, REGENT STREET, London. *Built 1820 as a chapel of ease to St. James's, Piccadilly, the architect being G. S. Repton (d. 1858). The plan shows the arrangements as in 1825 and the church is a highly important example of a liturgical pattern fully adapted to Prayer Book services, and one which may well provide a hint for modern usage in many cases.*

pit there placed and railed in as well as the table, and the Bible and reading pew too; are not the font, the pulpit, the Bible, as honourable, as venerable, as worthy to take place and precedency as the

table, both in respect of matter, use, relation to God and Christ, and divine institution?'[1] Prynne wanted to exalt the reading pew, font, and pulpit at the expense of the altar by making a liturgical centre in the church, where the altar would lose all significance by being one piece of church furniture amongst a number of others. But town churches with one or two liturgical centres became popular at the end of the eighteenth century, not because they exalted preaching at the expense of liturgy and Sacrament, but because they enabled a large congregation to see the altar in a way which was impossible when it was hidden by a large pulpit or reading pew or a chancel screen.[2]

In St. Philip's Chapel, Regent Street (Plan 38), which was built as a chapel of ease to St. James's, Piccadilly, in 1819–20, the reading desk and pulpit were placed one each side of the altar; and a contemporary description of the church calls attention to the fact that the arrangement, though unusual, interrupted the view of the service at the altar as little as possible.[3] Acoustic difficulties in the church of All Saints', Newcastle-on-Tyne (Plan 40), which was consecrated in 1789, eventually led to the pulpit and reading pew being moved from the front to the back of the altar, 'affording the congregation', so a contemporary description says, 'an opportunity of hearing and attending to the Communion service, as well as the prayers and the sermon'.[4] The recess in which the pulpit, reading pew, and altar stood terminated on the north side in the churchwardens' pew and on the south in one for the vicar. Churches

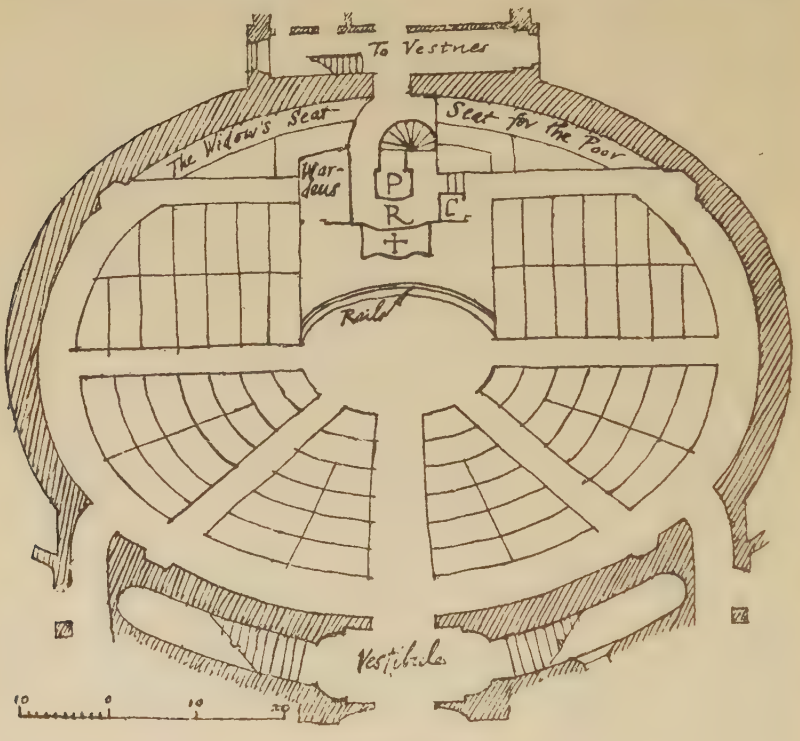
[1] *A quench-Coale*, p. 44.

[2] It should not be forgotten that a pulpit when placed in the middle alley in front of the altar, may hide the latter less, as far as the congregation is concerned, than do many pulpits placed to one side. A good example of this is Christ Church, Highfield, Southampton. The church, originally built in 1847, was the object of some haphazard extensions in 1856 and 1878 with the result that the easternmost pillar of a mid-nave arcade is in the middle of the entrance to the chancel. The pulpit is placed in front of this pillar and consequently in front of the altar. But so far from being hidden, the altar is visible from nearly every part of the church.

[3] J. Britton and A. Pugin, *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* (1825), i, p. 105; cf. ii, p. 100 for a plan of All Souls', Langham Place, showing the same arrangement. An engraving in Godwin, *The Churches of London*, ii, of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, an octagon church now pulled down, shows the reading desk and pulpit under arches each side of the altar.

[4] T. Sopwith, *A Historical and Descriptive Account of All Saints' Church in Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (1826), pp. 90–1, 93; cf. also pp. 11, 28. The altar here was 'a fine marble slab, supported on a mahogany frame, handsomely carved, and covered with crimson velvet'. It may have been the same as the marble altar in the previous church, which was given in 1684. A seventeenth-century inventory mentions a carpet of broad green and another of tapestry for the communion table.

with one liturgical centre were popular in Dublin at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[1] They generally had the reading desk and pulpit behind the altar with the font in front of the communion rails; and they were liked because the way in which they were arranged,

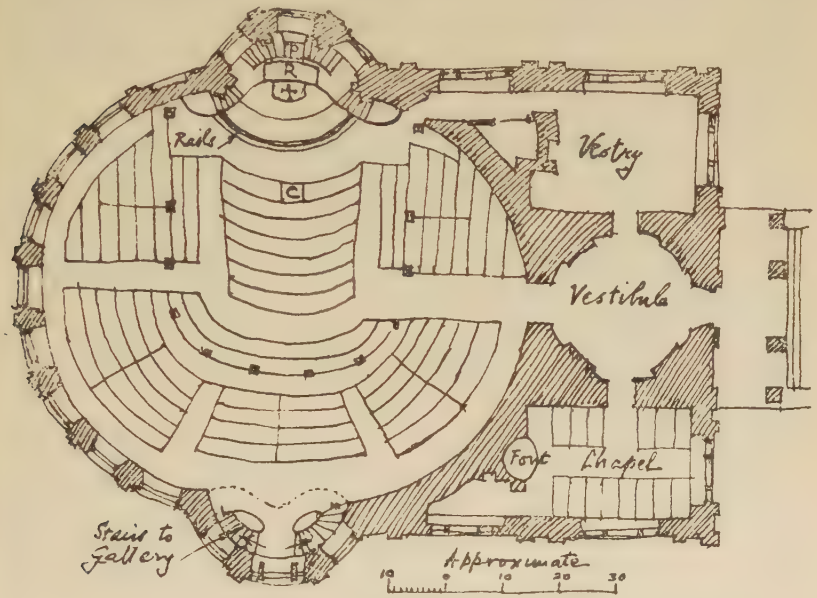


Plan 39

ST. ANDREW'S, DUBLIN, Ireland. *Built 1793–1807 under Francis Johnston as architect; the building was burnt down in 1860. It is an excellent example of an elliptical auditory church (cf. All Saints', Newcastle-on-Tyne, Plan No. 40). Note the arrangements of the pulpit, reading pew and clerk's seat behind the altar, and the way in which the rails follow the lines of the oval plan. At some time between 1825 and 1860 the altar was moved to the north end of the ellipse.*

[1] E.g., St. Thomas's, 1758–62; St. Andrew's, 1793–1807 (Plan 39); St. George's, 1802–13 (Plan 41), and the Free Church of St. George, consecrated in 1828. The latter is the only Dublin church which retains this arrangement; and the pulpit and reading pew are hung with dignified desk cloths.

while not obstructing the preacher's voice, made the Communion service more audible and the altar visible from every part of the building.[1] It was felt that the preacher's message came with additional solemnity when it was delivered over the table of the Sacrament.[2] Until the Tractarian Movement the churches of the Scottish



Plan 40

All Saints', Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland. *Rebuilt 1789; the plan shows the internal arrangements as in 1826. The altar recess is retained in an apsidal form, and the placing of the pulpit and reading-pew behind brings the altar on the chord of the apse. (Cf. St. Andrew's, Dublin, Plan No. 39, where there is no recess and a similar arrangement of pulpit, reading pew, and altar is brought forward well into the body of the elliptical building.) Note the unusual placing here of the clerk's seat, where he seems to be rather the leader of the congregation than an assistant to the minister. Note also the chapel leading from the vestibule, furnished with a reading desk, pews, and font, but no altar. This chapel was used for daily services and for Baptisms.*

[1] J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw, R. Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin* (1818), i, pp. 503, 511, 514.

[2] J. N. Brewer, *The Beauties of Ireland* (1825), i, p. 124.

Episcopal Church were usually arranged with the reading desk and pulpit either each side of the altar or behind it.[1] Sometimes this type of church took curious forms, like the proprietary chapel in a south coast watering-place, where over the altar was a room with two windows; at one the minister stood to read the offices, at the other he preached.[2] But on the whole churches with one or two liturgical centres have not deserved the harsh strictures of the Victorian ecclesiologists; they represent a genuine attempt to plan a church in which the communicants from their seats could take their proper part in the Eucharist. It is often said that it is unedifying to place the reading pew and pulpit behind and above the altar; but Bernini was allowed to arrange the interior of St. Peter's, Rome, in such a way that it is not the high altar but the papal throne framed in the great baldachino which arrests the attention of the worshipper from the moment he enters till the moment he turns to leave.[3] The early traditional position for the bishop in his cathedral church was behind the altar.

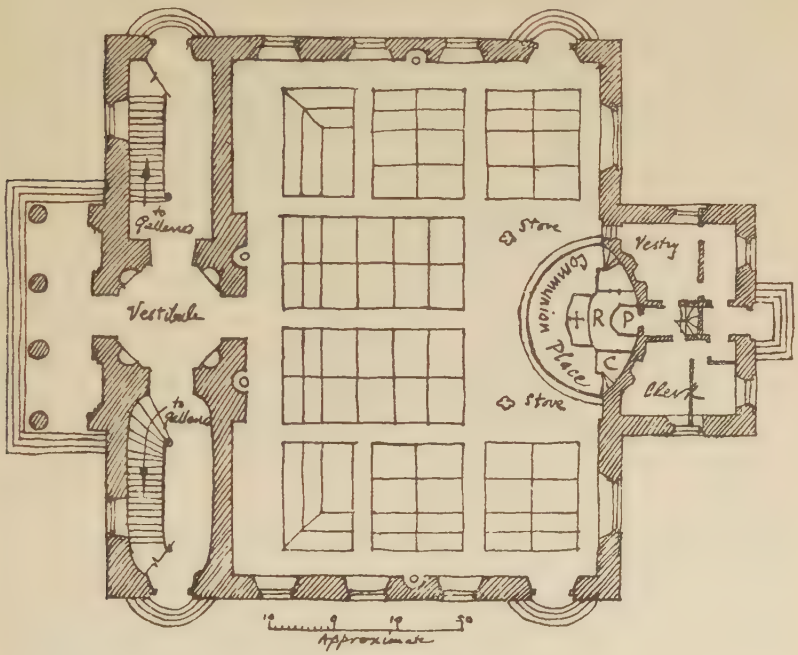
A description of three of the more important buildings still remaining which are planned on the principle of one or two liturgical centres, may help the reader to appreciate their very real merits. The chapel of the Rotunda Hospital in Dublin, the famous lying-in hospital opened in 1757, has the reading pew and pulpit one each side of the altar. Bartholomew Moss, the founder of the hospital, is an example of the best type of eighteenth-century philanthropist, and the hospital was his life work. He devised various schemes for raising money; one was lotteries, another was the creation of some pleasure gardens in the hospital grounds. They were called the New Gardens and formed a Dublin counterpart to Vauxhall or Ranelagh. The profits seem to have been considerable, especially after the building of the Rotunda itself, at that time Dublin's largest and most beautiful public room. In the centre of the hospital over the entrance hall is the chapel. Here infants could be baptized and women churched. The large alabaster font was

[1] F. C. Eeles, *Traditional Ceremonial and Customs connected with the Scottish Liturgy* (1910), pp. 17, 106. At Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Kirkcudbright, is a Scottish Episcopalian Church which still has the pulpit and reading desk one each side of the altar, with the font near the desk. The furniture is of a massive Victorian type; but the building is excellently arranged for congregational worship. It originally belonged to the United Free Presbyterian Church.

[2] J. M. Neale, *A Few Words to Church Builders* (1841), p. 23.

[3] T. H. Fokker, *Roman Baroque Art* (1938), i, p. 45.

bequeathed to the hospital by Dr. Robert Downes, Bishop of Raphoe; he brought it from Italy, at that time a favourite haunt of Irish bishops. The chapel was intended to help the hospital funds; friends of the hospital were encouraged to take sittings, and large collections were expected from charity sermons. Moss was a man of taste and he took great pains over the decoration of the chapel,

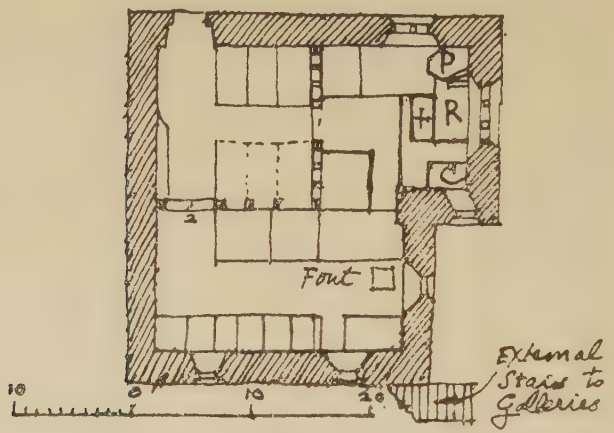


Plan 41

ST. GEORGE'S, DUBLIN, Ireland. *Built 1802–13 under Francis Johnston as architect. The altar stands in front of the pulpit, reading pew, and clerk's seat, in a shallow apse, with semi-circular rails. Note the excellent arrangement of the pews, which are all directed to the main liturgical centre. These arrangements were altered in 1880.*

with the result that it is the finest baroque church interior in the British Isles. Its chief glory is Bartholomew Cramillion's stucco ceiling, with figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, great clusters of

grapes and olive branches,[1] and angels carrying scrolls with sentences from the Bible. The sentences speak of the travail accompanying childbirth, of the honour and care that are due to children, and how they can only find their true happiness in the worship of God and membership of His Church. The chapel was opened in 1762, and the Governors found that the proceeds from pew rents



Plan 42

DALE, Derbyshire. *A medieval fabric, largely refitted in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The original screen remains. The pulpit is of 1634 and the seats are seventeenth century, except for the square pews which are eighteenth century. The altar stands in front of the pulpit, reading pew, and clerk's pew. Note the position of the font at the east end of the south aisle. The gallery extends over the nave up to the screen and over the whole of the south aisle. It is a particularly attractive building.*

and collections exceeded their most sanguine expectations. The altar is most dignified with its wrought-iron rails. Each side of the window behind the altar is draped with red and gold stucco curtains held up by cherubim; at the top the curtains form a canopy for the

[1] Presumably in reference to Psalm cxxviii, 3, 4, one of the two psalms provided in the Prayer Book for use at the marriage service.

Agnus Dei, standing on the book with the seven seals, and before which angels kneel in adoration.[1]

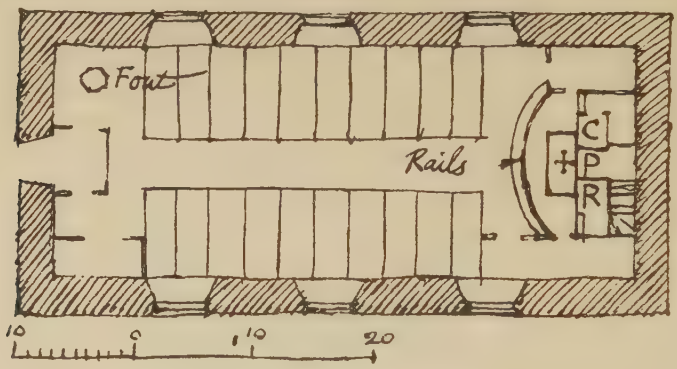
The best existing example of a church with an altar in front of a three-storeyed pulpit is Gibside Chapel in Co. Durham (Plan 35). The chapel, which was the work of the architect James Payne, was built in 1760 as a burying-place for the Bowes family; and was fitted up in 1812 as a place of worship by the tenth Earl of Strathmore. The building is in the form of a Greek cross with a dome over the centre; one arm forms the portico and entrance; the other three arms each end in a semi-circular recess. In the arm opposite the entrance is the three-storeyed pulpit, standing not against the wall of the recess but brought forward so that it is half under the dome. In front of the pulpit occupying the rest of the space under the dome is the altar, surrounded by a rail on all four sides. The pews are placed in the arms of the cross which flank the pulpit and altar, and also in the angles between each arm. The altar is covered on the top and all four sides with a blue-green velvet carpet; the fair linen cloth, which is only put on for the Communion, also covers the altar on all four sides. There are no ornaments on the altar, except two cushions, one at each end, of the same material as the carpet.[2]

At Shobdon, in Herefordshire (Plan 45), is a church with one liturgical centre. It was built in 1753 in the Gothic of the period, and once inside we are in the world of Horace Walpole and his friend, Mr. John Chute of the Vyne, rhapsodizing over sham holy

[1] T. P. C. Kirkpatrick and H. Jellett, *The Book of the Rotunda Hospital* (1913), pp. 32, 33, 63–4, 176–7. The ceiling is quite unlike anything of the same period in Dublin, and is reminiscent of work in Austrian or Italian churches. Cramillion was paid three hundred guineas for the ceiling, and two hundred guineas for the altar-piece (C. P. Curran, *The Rotunda Hospital, its Architects and Craftsmen* (Dublin, 1945), pp. 10–15). Two other good instances of churches with the reading pew and pulpit one each side of the altar, are Rahan, Co. Cork, 1796, and Holy cross, Co. Tipperary, 1821.

[2] Other variants of this type of church have the reading pew in the middle of the east wall, with the pulpit on one side and the clerk's pew on the other, e.g., Dale, Derbyshire (Plan 42), a medieval church with seventeenth and eighteenth-century furniture. Sometimes the pulpit is in the middle between the reading pew and clerk's pew, e.g., Timogue, Co. Leix (Plan 43), and Clongish, Co. Longford, both with early nineteenth-century furniture. At Clongish until a few years ago the pulpit projected like a canopy over the altar (which was a semi-circular ledge), and was what Braun (*Der Christliche Altar*, ii, pp. 251–2) calls an ambon-ciborium, such as was common in Italy in the Middle Ages. A fine example is the ambo in Ravello Cathedral with the altar beneath it. Since the Counter-Reformation it has been forbidden in the Church of Rome to place an altar under a pulpit. John Wesley's Chapel, Broadmead, Bristol, which dates from 1748 and was restored in 1929, has a reading pew and pulpit, forming a two-storeyed pulpit, immediately behind the table. Wesley never referred to the building as a chapel, but as the New Room in the Horsefair. Here he read the Prayer Book services and administered the Sacrament.

water stoups. Various attempts have been made to connect the church with Horace Walpole; so far in vain, though the Dicky Bateman of the letters, whom he claimed to have converted from a Chinese to a Goth, was the uncle of the second Viscount Bateman, who built the church. The Gothic is an example of the English rococo which used Gothic forms, what Sir Kenneth Clark has called rococo Gothic. The interior coloured white and blue, and with crimson hangings on the altar and pulpit, has all the lightness and



Plan 43

TIMOGUE, Co. Leix, Ireland. *Built in the late eighteenth century. A simple and very attractive plan. The pulpit, reading pew, and clerk's seat are behind the altar, in front of which are curved rails linked on to enclosed pews on either side.*

gaiety of a rococo church in Austria or Bavaria. The building is cruciform with a shallow chancel and transepts. At the west end is a gallery for singers and the organ. The south transept with its fireplace and domestic chairs was the Bateman family pew, and the north transept was occupied by their household; both transepts have their own door from outside, and are separated from the crossing by a low iron rail. At the north side of the crossing is a three-storeyed pulpit, in no way blocking the view of the altar; on the south side is the font. Otherwise the space is empty apart from an ugly modern lectern; and a good deal of the effectiveness of the church is due to this empty central space round which the

chancel, pulpit, and font are grouped. The chancel is spacious and dignified. The pews are of a fantastic shape, and the reading pew is like nothing so much as the sleighs in the Marstall Museum at Munich, which once belonged to Ludwig II.[1]

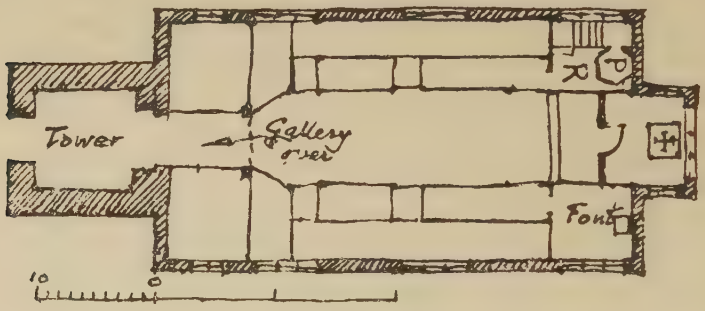
At the end of the eighteenth century, a further plan of church was sometimes adopted in order to bring the people in sight of the altar; it was based on the arrangement of a cathedral choir or college chapel. Parish churches were built which were in effect cathedral choirs without a nave, the west wall taking the place of a pulpitum. The congregation were placed in seats arranged along the north and south walls like the choir stalls in a cathedral. The arrangement had two advantages. It was a striking illustration of the truth that daily services of the Church of England are the monastic offices adapted so that they can be used by the ordinary laity. The parishioners were seated like the members of a religious order or collegiate body;[2] for on them had devolved the privilege of offering the daily worship of the church. Once the people can be persuaded not to be disturbed or distracted by facing each other, and it is the chief difficulty with this kind of church, they acquire a sense of corporateness in their attitude to the services which is so often lacking when they are facing in the same direction. In the eighteenth century people were so used to facing each other in square pews that they found nothing to upset them in such an arrangement of the seats; but to obviate distractions a church arranged like a cathedral choir needs a wide central alley. Another advantage was that the reading pew and pulpit could be placed either in the middle of the north or south side, a position corresponding to the stall of a precentor in a cathedral of the new foundations, or a chaplain in a college chapel; or against the west wall, a position corresponding to the stalls of the chief dignitaries in a cathedral choir or the senior fellows in a college. In both cases the abiding difficulty in an Anglican place of worship since the Reformation of seating the con-

[1] A good example of a town church with one liturgical centre is St. Werburgh's, Dublin. The church was refurnished after a fire in 1759 with the three-storeyed pulpit and font in front of the altar. But in 1877 it was rearranged with the pulpit and reading-desk one each side of the altar recess, and the font in the middle alley in front of the communion rails. The choir and organ still occupy the west gallery. In the eighteenth century the church served as the Chapel Royal, and it still has the vice-regal pew in the west gallery below the organ.

[2] At Glenealy, Co. Wicklow, which is an example of this type of church, the seats in the back rows have canopies like choir stalls. The church was built in 1783.

gregation conveniently near the priest, both for the offices and the Communion service, was overcome without relegating the altar to the background behind the pulpit or allowing it to lose in importance by being placed in one group with the pulpit and reading desk at the east end.[1]

A good example of this plan of church where the minister occupies the place of a precentor in a cathedral choir of the new foundations, is Ravenstonedale in Westmorland (Plan 46). It was completed in 1744 and is a beautifully proportioned room, with a



Plan 44

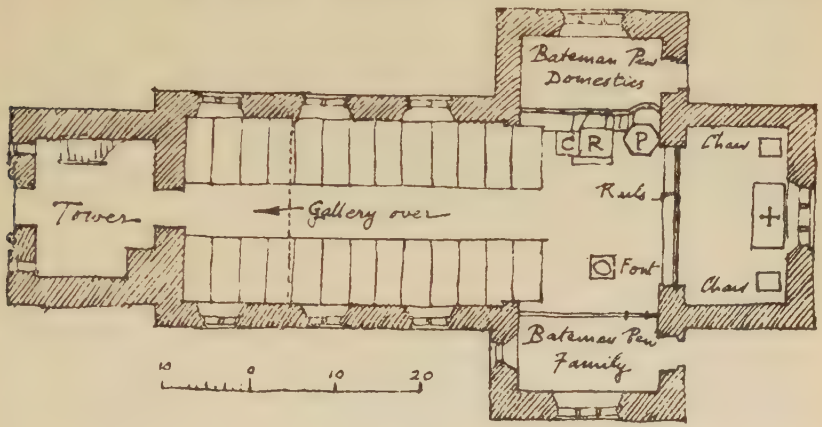
HALSTON CHAPEL, Whittington, Shropshire. *A half-timbered building of the mid-sixteenth century. It is an example of a single liturgical centre with the font flanking the two-decker, and the pews are arranged 'college chapel-wise'. All these fittings were inserted in 1725. The interesting series of paintings includes the Decalogue flanked by Moses and Aaron behind the altar, with the Our Father and the Creed north and south of this; David with harp between the two easternmost windows on the north side with the Ascension in a corresponding position on the south, and our Lord's Baptism over the chancel arch.*

[1] Some examples of this type of church, e.g., Halston Chapel, Shropshire (Plan 44), and Kilbixy, Co. West Meath, retain the reading pew and pulpit at the east end. Halston Chapel is a timber framed building of the mid-sixteenth century, but the furniture dates from 1725. The altar is in a recess; flanking the recess on the north side are the pulpit and reading desk, and on the south the font in a christening pew. The desk is so made that the priest can face south for the prayers. Kilbixy is a charming example of late eighteenth-century Gothic and was built in 1798. There are two rows of seats each side of the church, and the central alley is some seventeen feet wide. The reading pew and pulpit, of equal height (v.s.p. 76), stand one each side of the altar place. The font bason and its pedestal are kept in the vestry, and set up when wanted in the middle of the nave.

Plate XI

The High Altar of the Dominican Church, Salamanca, from an aquatint in W. Bradford, *Chronological and Historical Retrospect of the Memorable Events of the War in the Peninsula* (*1813*). The altar is shown as furnished in almost exactly the same way as an Anglican altar of the same period; if this is correct, it would provide an example of the similarity between the treatment of the altar in the Church of England and that common in conservative Roman Catholic circles on the Continent in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see p. 169). Note the pulpit with its shaped tester, and the plain iron rails (see p. 162).

pseudo-narthex running across the west end from the north to the south porch. The altar is in a recess at the east end, and the three-storeyed pulpit in the middle of the north side; the font is just inside the door which leads from the narthex into the church proper, and there is a west gallery. There are six rows of seats each side of the church; originally it served two villages, Raven-



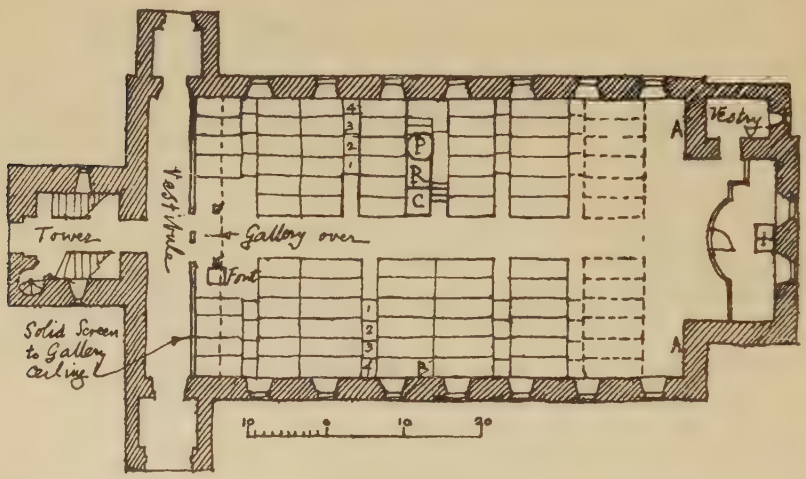
Plan 45

SHOBDON, Herefordshire. *Rebuilt 1753 in a Gothic treatment of the period, and one of the most attractive examples extant of the time. The wood-work throughout is painted white, and the pulpit is almost entirely covered with embroidered velvet hangings. The sanctuary chairs are shown in what was probably their original position. Note the placing of the font flanking the reading pew.*

stonedale and Newbiggin, and each village had its own side of the building; Newbiggin sat on the north side, and Ravenstonedale on the south.

[1] St. Wilfrid's, Brougham, Westmorland (Plan 47), is arranged in the same way. The fabric is medieval, but in the eighteen-forties it was furnished with French and Flemish early renaissance woodwork. A screen divides the church into two parts. The western and smaller part has the font by the door and the organ against the west wall with a place for singers in front. The eastern part is arranged like a cathedral choir with two rows of seats on each side, and the minister's desk, which serves both for reading the service and preaching, on the south side. On the front of the desk is carved the Pieta, and on the back panel just behind the minister's head is the Assumption. The sanctuary is spacious, and there is a magnificent Flemish reredos of the Crucifixion. Another example is Langton-by-Spilsby, Lincolnshire, c. 1725, with the reading pew and pulpit on the south side and the font in front of the communion rails.

But more effective both from an aesthetic and practical point of view are the churches where the minister is placed at the west end. The best example in England is Teigh in Rutland (Plan 48). It was built in 1782 by the grandfather of Dr. Pusey, Robert Sherard, the fourth Earl of Harborough, who was in holy orders and the rector of the parish.[1] The church is a single room in ordinary eighteenth-



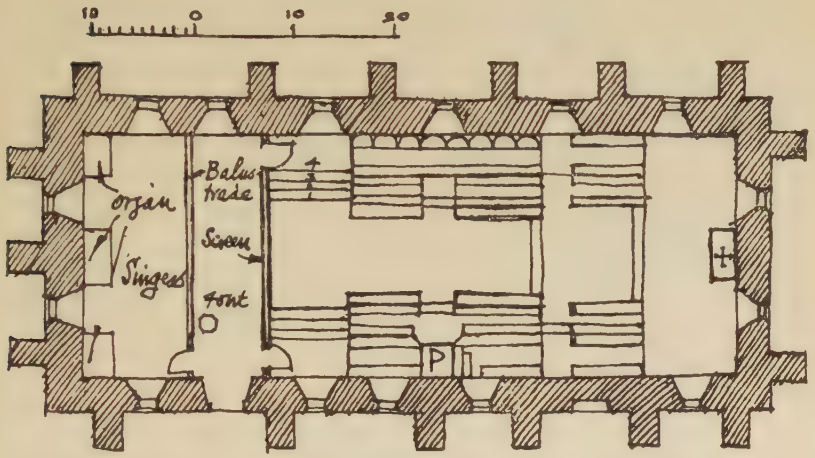
Plan 46

RAVENSTONEDALE, Westmorland. *Built 1738–44. A fine example of a village auditory church seated in college chapel fashion, except that it is rather over-pewed, leaving only a narrow middle alley. Modern choir stalls have been inserted at the east end and the seats shown in dotted line are conjectural; there may have been an open space here. At the points marked A are, on the north, the Decalogue flanked by Moses and Aaron, and on the south the Creed and Our Father flanked by St. Peter and St. John; and at the point marked B are the royal arms facing the three-storeyed pulpit.*

century Gothic. At the east end is the altar surrounded on three sides by rails, with a picture of the Last Supper as an altar-piece set in Gothic panelling. The font is a mahogany vase lined with lead, and is attached by a brass arm to the south-west corner of the

[1] Lord Harborough's daughter, Lady Lucy, was Dr. Pusey's mother; and it was from her explanation of the Catechism that he learned the doctrine of the Real Presence.

rails. There are three rows of seats on each side of the church. In the centre of the west wall is the pulpit, with the reading pew on the north and the clerk's pew on the south side. The reading pew and clerk's pew are each entered by a flight of steps leading off a passage which runs under the pulpit from the west tower into the church; a further flight of steps leads from the reading pew into



Plan 47

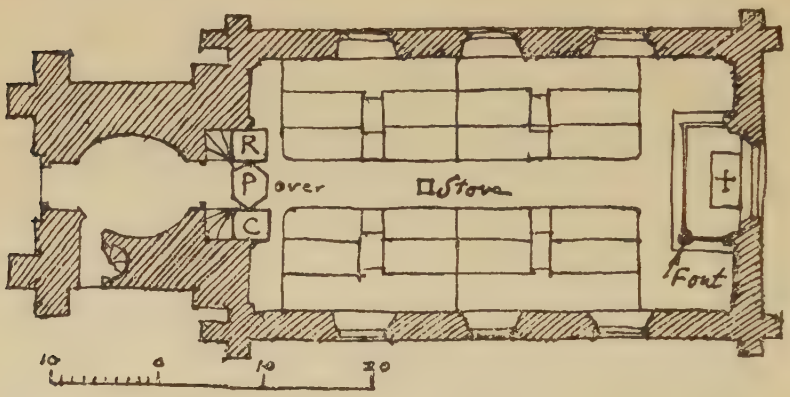
BROUGHAM, ST. WILFRID'S, Westmorland. *Medieval fabric, restored and refitted 1840–50. The highly interesting fittings are described in the text. Note the very unusual arrangements for the organ and singers in the 'ante-chapel' west of the screen.*

the pulpit. The wall round the pulpit is painted to look like trellis work with trees in the background. The position of the reading pew and pulpit at the west end, bringing the congregation for the offices between the priest and the altar, is reminiscent of the Spanish practice, and the reading pew and clerk's pew project like the ambos from some west galleries in Spain.[1] But it is quite certain that there is no connection between the two; the arrangement is a clever

[1] E.g., San Esteban, Burgos, and San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo. The west gallery at Kilbixy (v.s.p. 192, footnote) is fitted with canopied stalls like so many west galleries in Spain. Originally they were intended for the family which built the church, but they are now actually occupied by the choir.

adaptation of the English cathedral choir to meet parochial needs.[1]

Any discussion of the attempts made by the eighteenth century to bring people near the altar would be incomplete without some reference to Irish cathedrals during this period. Irish cathedrals were in a different position from those in England. The English cathedral in the eighteenth century was very much the private



Plan 48

TEIGH, Rutland. *Built 1782. Some slight changes have since been made in the pewing, but the plan shows the original arrangement. The windows were badly remodelled in 1911 but the new mullions are omitted in the plan. The church is a charming example of a village auditory church treated in college chapel fashion, with the pulpit, reading pew, and clerk's seat at the west end. Note the font which is supported by a bracket from the rails. There is some attractive wall painting on the west wall.*

chapel of the capitular body; it had no parochial responsibilities, and congregations were not always very welcome. The choir was arranged primarily for the singing of the divine office by the clerical and lay members of the foundation, and visitors could be accom-

[1] Another example was the church at Collon, Co. Louth, built in 1813. There are five rows of seats each side of the church, and up till 1894 the three-storeyed pulpit stood in the middle of the west wall and the font a few feet in front of the communion rail. The church contains a memorial tablet to the lady whose hand was asked in marriage by the future Pius IX when he was a young officer in the papal guards. Gwydir Uchaf Chapel, Llanrwst, built by the Wynne family in 1673 is also arranged in the same way, though the reading pew is here at the western end of the seats on the south side.

modated in the vacant stalls, or other suitable seats. Irish cathedrals, on the other hand, were generally the parish churches of the districts in which they were situated; and such cathedrals had to be arranged to meet the worshipping needs of the parish. A satisfactory place had to be found in the cathedral for the dean, who was generally also the rector of the parish, his assistant curates, the vicars choral and the choir, as well as the bishop's throne and the stalls of the chapter (though the canons were as a rule non-resident) without at the same time separating the laity from the altar (cf. Plans 49, 50, and 51). The problem of seating a group of clergy without seeming to relegate the laity to the background did not arise in English parish churches where there were seldom more than two on the staff; and they were seated in the pulpit and reading desk, visiting clergy being given a chair within the communion rails.

It is not always remembered that in Ireland the period was one of considerable cathedral building and restoration. Londonderry Cathedral was built between 1628 and 1633, the citizens of London subscribing the necessary funds. After the Restoration Jeremy Taylor rebuilt the Cathedral of Dromore; and it was probably his wife that gave the chalice and paten.[1] The consecration of the rebuilt choir of Kildare Cathedral in 1686 was the occasion of the ordination to the diaconate of Thomas Wilson, the future Bishop of Sodor and Man; and he and his friend, Michael Hewetson, presented at the altar a paten for the use of the cathedral.[2] The finest cathedral built during the period is the one at Waterford; but modern furniture has rather spoilt the character of its delicate rococo interior.[3]

The cathedrals built in Ireland in the eighteenth century were usually single-room buildings[4] with the stalls for the cathedral body at the west end, the choir and organ in a west gallery, and the reading desk and pulpit near the altar at the east end (cf. Plans 49 and

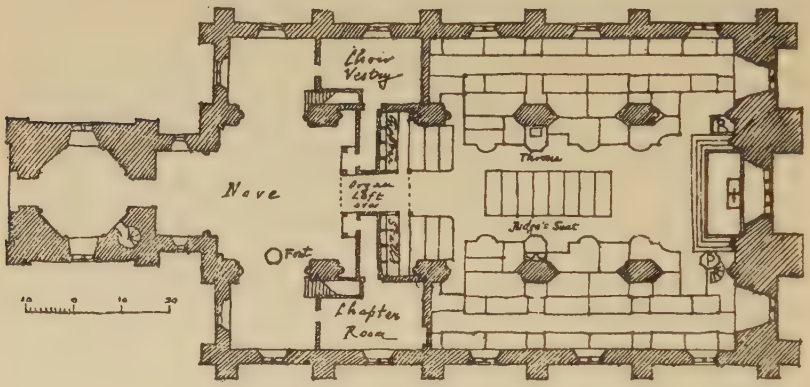
[1] The chalice is inscribed, 'In Ministerium SS. Mysteriorum in Ecclesia Christi Redemptoris de Dromore'.

[2] The paten is inscribed, 'Deo et Altari Ecclesiae Cathedralis S^tae Brigidae Darensis Sacrum'.

[3] Waterford Cathedral was built in 1773; other cathedrals built in Ireland in the eighteenth century were Cork, 1735; Clogher, 1745; Cashel, 1788. The cathedral at Cork was pulled down in the last century to make way for the present building.

[4] Wren's first plan for St. Paul's Cathedral was a single-room building; the *Parentalia* (p. 282) says it would have been 'beautiful, and very fit for our way of worship'; but it was rejected as being too small, and too great a departure from the traditional cathedral plan (*Wren Society*, xiii, pp. xii–xv).

50). The bishop's throne was in the middle of the north or south side.[1] The important feature in the arrangement of these cathedrals is the position of the cathedral clergy and the choir. The problem of how to bring the congregation near the altar was solved in almost the same way as it had been done in Spain. With the exception of the officiating minister, the clergy are seated at the west



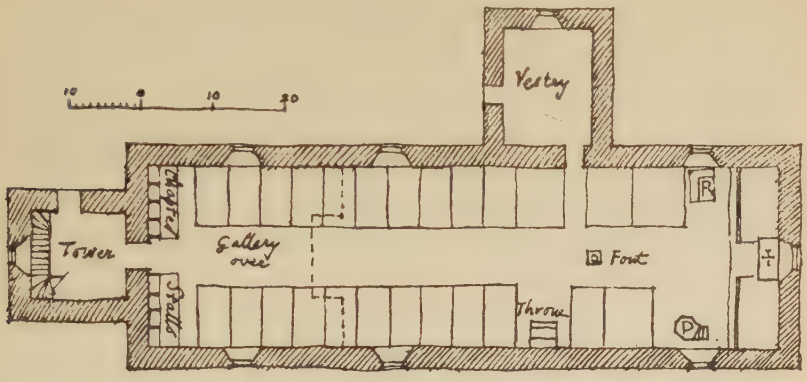
Plan 49

DOWNPATRICK CATHEDRAL, Co. Down, Ireland. *The medieval choir, with a 'nave or ante-chapel' of one bay, was rebuilt between 1790 and 1818. It is one of the finest examples of late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century adaptations of the medieval cathedral choir arrangements, and the stalls and pews, with their curved fronts, are of great beauty. Note the large pulpitum or organ loft, with returned chapter stalls on its eastern face. The pulpit and reading pew are on either side of the altar, but the 'Judge's seat' is used as a reading pew on normal occasions.*

end under a gallery or pulpitum which contained the organ and choir. The reading desk and pulpit were placed one each side of the altar. Between the clergy in their stalls and the officiating minister, whether at the desk or the altar, were the congregation. Sometimes they were seated like a cathedral body, facing each other; some-

[1] The throne which originally stood in Waterford Cathedral, and which was described by Street as 'an odd little pagan temple, with pillars and pediment, and painted white', is now in the church of St. Olaf (see *Ecclesiologist*, x, p. 174).

times their seats all faced towards the east end. They could easily hear the priest and obtain an uninterrupted view of the altar and the Eucharistic action. Not the least pleasing part about the arrangement was the way in which the bishop's throne stood right amongst his people.[1] These cathedrals may not have been more than good-



Plan 50

KILLALA CATHEDRAL, Co. Mayo, Ireland. *Rebuilt and consecrated 1670. A good example of the treatment of a small cathedral in the Church of Ireland. The seating is arranged for an ordinary parish congregation but there are eight returned stalls for the chapter at the west end and the bishop's throne is set among the people. Note the position of the font.*

size parish churches, and their furniture was of a period that is not at the moment generally admired; but they had something which more magnificent foundations elsewhere so often lack. Their

[1] In most Irish cathedrals during the Victorian age, stalls for the cathedral body and the choir were intruded between the people and the altar. But the earlier arrangements survive in the cathedrals of Downpatrick (Plan 49), Killala (Plan 50), and Achonry. Of these, Downpatrick is the most interesting. The present building is the choir of the original medieval cathedral, which was rebuilt between 1790 and 1818. The western bay serves as a narthex and baptistry, and is divided from the rest of the building by a pulpitum on the top of which are the organ and choir seats. The stalls for the cathedral clergy are returned against the east face of the pulpitum. The reading pew is on the north and the pulpit on the south side of the altar, and most of the seats are arranged like those in an ordinary cathedral choir with elegant curved fronts. Killala was consecrated in 1670 and Achonry in 1823, the latter costing only fifteen hundred pounds. They are arranged in much the same way as Downpatrick, except that a west gallery takes the place of the pulpitum, and the stalls are returned against the west wall; at Killala the font is in front of the altar rails and at Achonry by the canons' stalls; and the seats for the congregation all face towards the east end.

services were not just the offering of the cathedral clergy and choir, with the laity as strained spectators in the nave; but the act of the whole body of the faithful gathered reasonably near the officiating minister and in full relation to the altar.

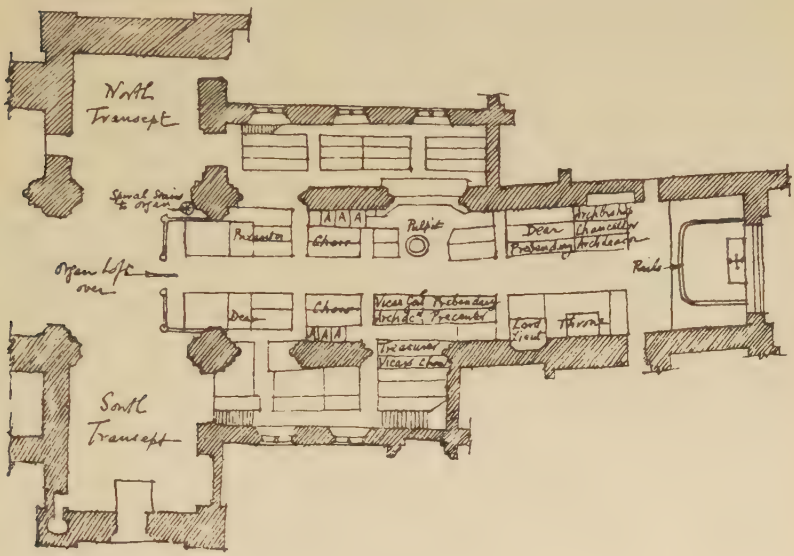
3. *The Ministerial Altar*

In the course of history the Church has evolved three different types of altar, the mysterious, the dramatic, the ministerial. There is the altar of the eastern Christians, the mysterious altar hidden behind veils or the iconostasis; and frequently the Church in the west has tried to make the altar partially mysterious by the use of the chancel screen, the Lenten veil, the placing of the clergy and choir between the altar and the people. There is the dramatic altar, the altar of the baroque architects, of the Victorian ritualists, of numerous modern churches; an altar which by dramatic methods—ornament, the beauty of space, the manipulation of light and shadow—is made the show piece of the church, and suggests to the worshippers the glory of the Sacrament.[1] There is the ministerial altar, the holy table, a place of ministering, where our Lord perpetuates His ministry here on earth by the gift of heavenly food to the faithful gathered round it.

It is this last kind of altar which the Church of England from the days of Ridley had set out to put up in its buildings; and had to a great extent succeeded in doing so by the beginning of the nineteenth century. After the Restoration there are no Anglican writings which expound the significance of the altar like those of Williams, Heylin, and Pocklington; but in the Irish Form of Consecration of Churches there is a long prayer for the consecration of the altar, which is a good summary of what the period thought the altar should be. The prayer contains the phrase 'ministerial altar' It is spoken of as ministerial because it is the place on earth where the faithful are made partakers of all the benefits which flow from the ministry and priesthood of the Son of God. The prayer goes on to speak of Him as sent to be a sacrifice for our sins and the food of our souls, as the author and finisher of our faith, the great minister of eternal glory, who perpetually presents upon the heavenly altar

[1] T. H. Fokker, *Roman Baroque Art*, i, pp. 158–9, 280.

the eternal sacrifice. The church's altar is the place where this ministry is performed in time, where the holy Body and Blood of Christ are sacramentally exhibited and represented, and where we feed upon Christ by faith, where we are nourished by a holy hope and grow up to an eternal charity.[1]



Plan 51

CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN, Ireland. *The plan shows the disposition of the choir as in 1831, an arrangement which persisted up to 1870. It gives a good picture of the liturgical and social ideas of the time. The seats marked A were the cathedral chapter stalls.*

By the eighteenth century the Church of England had definitely accepted the ministerial altar in spite of its obvious disadvantages, as, for instance, its lack of mystery and its lack of appeal to the religious emotions. It seemed best suited to the temper and liturgy

[1] For the text and an account of the Irish Form of Consecration of Churches, see *Hierurgia Anglicana*, iii, pp. 188–225. The form was first published in 1666; but it was never officially adopted by the Convocation of the Irish Church, though it was generally bound up with Irish Prayer Books. The form has been ascribed to Cosin; and it has been thought to be the one which he drew up for the Church of England, and which was presented to the English Convocation in 1661 and never heard of again. The form is fuller and more theological than the one used in England in the eighteenth century. For the prayer for the consecration of the altar, see Appendix IV.

of the Church; though if some of the more extreme Laudian divines had had their way, it is possible the Church would have adopted the dramatic altar. But after the Restoration, all that was good in the teaching of the two Archbishops Laud and Williams was used to create the ministerial altar with very definite characteristics.

It is a table, because from it our Lord perpetuates His ministry by the gift of heavenly food to the Church; and whether wood or stone, it pretends to be nothing else but what Ridley called 'an honest table' and looks like a table, and not like a long narrow trestle or a dresser. Because it is the holy table it is always reverently covered, and the altar furniture is restricted to what is necessary for that ministry according to the rubrics and canons of the Church. Unnecessary ornament or altar foppery, as it was called, is rigorously eschewed. The rails, the reredos, the canopy or specially painted chancel ceiling honour the holy table; but they are restrained in treatment and do not overshadow it. It is not separated from the faithful by a screen or by rows of choir stalls, but is so placed that they can kneel near it and follow the actions and words of the priest.

Chapter VII

THE VICTORIAN AGE

1. The Period of Self-consciousness

Whatever the plan of church, and whatever the principle on which it was arranged, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had consistently tried to place the people near the minister, so that even at the cost of some dignity and propriety they could see what was happening and follow the service. In the eighteen-forties a wholly new theory about the planning and arrangement of churches was evolved, the theory which largely governs the thinking of the Church on the subject to-day. It was chiefly the work of two groups of people. The first group consisted of the Cambridge ecclesiologists, mostly undergraduates, who under the leadership of the future Dr. John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb formed themselves into the Cambridge Camden Society in 1839. In the second group were two people, Dr. John Jebb, the nephew of the famous Bishop of Limerick and his friend Dr. Theodore Farquhar Hook, the great vicar of Leeds. Both groups were Tractarians, though their catholicism was not the same; and both were products of the Romantic movement.

Few undergraduate societies have exercised such an influence as the Cambridge Camden Society. By 1843 it had as its patrons two archbishops, sixteen bishops, thirty-one peers and members of Parliament and a membership of no less than seven hundred. The society revolutionized the whole appearance and arrangement of our churches; and there is hardly a building in any part of the

world, belonging to the Anglican communion, which does not betray the influence of its ideals. The professed object of the Society was 'to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains'. But it was most emphatically not a merely antiquarian society. Neale and his friends were romantic medievalists; they dreamt of converting England by repeating the architectural triumphs of the Middle Ages and by placing the Prayer Book services in a setting of medieval ceremonial. Their pamphlets and articles contained a whole programme of church building and arrangement. Much of what they had to say was not new; people had been talking and writing on much the same lines since the end of the eighteenth century. The novelty was the faith, enthusiasm, and definiteness with which their ideas were set forth. They leave no doubt of their views as to what must be the arrangement and furnishings of a church designed for catholic worship according to the Prayer Book. Their faith and enthusiasm almost convince the modern reader; and the religious idealism of the eighteen-thirties found them irresistible. To a keen young clergyman, fresh from reading the tracts of the ecclesiologists with their over-stressed medievalism, the typical church of the period with a marble font on a pedestal, the panelled pulpit and desk painted white, the crimson and yellow pulpit hangings, the altar frontal of crimson fringed with black, seemed hardly worthy of the name of a church, in fact definitely pagan.

The ecclesiologists started with the belief that there is a specifically Christian style of church architecture in which every church must be built. The architecture was that of the Middle Ages, and its most perfect expression the Gothic of the fourteenth century. The architecture between the close of the Middle Ages and the forties of the last century was largely dismissed as either debased or pagan, both because of the so-called worldliness of the period which produced it as compared with the ages of faith, and because it found its inspiration in classical forms. There was not only a Christian style of architecture which distinguished a church from all other buildings; there was also one definite plan according to which a church intended for Prayer Book worship must conform. Since the Reformation architects and liturgists had been developing a plan of church which enabled clergy and laity to take their part in the

Church service with decency and reverence and an economy of movement. The church had no special look about it and it was arranged with particular reference to the convenience of the Christian community in offering the liturgy. The ecclesiologists approached the problem of how a church should be planned from a different angle. They believed that a perfect plan of church was at hand; that it had been worked out in the fourteenth century; and that one only had to adopt the plan to restore the splendour of medieval worship. In designing a church it was all important to adopt this plan, and only then to think about the convenience of the congregation.

Dr. Neale's mind was particularly open to the influence of symbolism, as one would expect from the writer of the great commentary on the mystical interpretation of the Psalms. Both he and the other ecclesiologists were fascinated by the symbolism which the piety of the Middle Ages loved to attach to every part of the church. A church had to possess what they called 'sacramentality'; and by this they meant that a church must possess certain architectural features and be planned in a certain way not because the features or plan were necessary for the celebration of the liturgy but because they symbolized great Christian truths.[1] But the Middle Ages did not build a church in a particular way because of its symbolic value; the medieval church was designed to meet certain practical needs; and piety afterwards read a symbolic meaning into its various features. Neale and his friends reversed the process; it was an advantage, for instance, to have a church with aisles and transepts not because they provided space for chantry chapels but because a nave with two aisles symbolized the Blessed Trinity and a cruciform church the doctrine of the atonement.[2]

The characteristic feature of a fourteenth-century church is its long chancel; and in their admiration for the churches of this period the ecclesiologists laid down that two parts and two parts only were absolutely necessary for a church: a chancel and a nave. Every church had to have a distinct and spacious chancel, which should be at least one-third the length of the nave (Plan 53).[3] The chancel

[1] J. M. Neale and Benjamin Webb, *The Symbolism of Churches* (ed. 1893), pp. xxvi-xxviii.

[2] Ibid., pp. lxxx–lxxxiii.

[3] J. M. Neale, *A Few Words to Church Builders* (1841), pp. 5, 30; *Ecclesiologist*, i, p. 45.

had to be further divided into the chancel proper, or choir, and the sacrarium at the east end.[1] Chancels were favoured too, because the threefold division of the church—nave, chancel, and sanctuary—symbolized the Blessed Trinity; or the nave the Church Militant and the chancel the Church Triumphant, while the chancel arch, the barrier between the two, stood for the faithful death of the righteous soul. Very little attention was paid to the question of whether such chancels were convenient for the celebration of Prayer Book services.

The eighteenth-century architects had to all intents succeeded in eliminating chancels; but as a result of the teaching of the ecclesiologists they returned into fashion as a part of the church, either structurally separate from the nave, or merely divided from it by steps or a screen. To the ecclesiologists a church without a chancel was no church at all; and the auditory churches of the eighteenth century were contemptuously referred to as conventicles. It was a chancel which distinguished a building designed for catholic worship according to the Prayer Book from one used by nonconformists. There is very little difference in plan and decoration between an eighteenth-century auditory church and a well-cared for nonconformist chapel of the same period or even a secular ballroom. But to an eighteenth-century churchman it was not the shape, plan or style of architecture which differentiated a church from a chapel or a secular room, but the use to which it was put. A church was a building consecrated by a bishop, where the Church of the country gathered for liturgical worship, led by a minister in holy orders.

Some of the earlier pamphlets of the Camden Society were in favour of filling the chancel arch with a rood-screen; but Dr. Neale also suggested that the chancel, especially when there was no screen, should be raised two or three steps above the level of the nave. Steps rather than a screen were to become the usual Victorian method of differentiating between the nave and chancel, and also between the chancel and sanctuary. Neale suggested that the altar should be raised on as many as nine steps, three flights of three steps each.[2] The altar was to dominate the whole church, and the

[1] *Ecclesiologist*, v, pp. 134–5; cf. J. W. Hewett, *The Arrangement of Parish Churches Considered* (Cambridge, 1848), p. 6.

[2] *A Few Words to Church Builders*, pp. 11, 12.

seating arranged in reference to it. High pews were pronounced inadmissible; not only because they were conducive to irreverent behaviour but also because in so many cases they prevented the congregation from either seeing or praying towards the altar. Seats were to be low and open, all facing towards the east end. But the use of steps to mark off the chancel and sanctuary, the pews arranged so that the congregation could face towards the high altar, the altar itself visible from nearly every part of the church, all these characteristics of the ideal church of the ecclesiologists show that in plan and arrangement it was really as little medieval in spirit as the auditory churches which they so much despised.

In plan the church of the ecclesiologists is a development of the church with two liturgical centres, the font by the door, and the altar at the east end, together with the desk from which the minister takes the offices. They much disliked the practice of placing the font near the altar; and it is chiefly due to them that it is now so rarely found in England. Their sense of order was disturbed by an infant being allowed into the holiest part of the church before it was even baptized. A font had to be near the church door, not for any reasons of convenience, but as symbolizing that Baptism is the way into membership of the Body of Christ. In an eighteenth-century church with two liturgical centres, the minister, when he read the offices, was either behind or at the side of the altar. The ecclesiologists said that his proper place was between the people and the altar in a chancel stall.

Of all the objects which characterized our churches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the ecclesiologists most disliked the reading pew and three-storeyed pulpit; to Neale it was nothing but 'a modern innovation, very ugly, very inconvenient, and totally repugnant to all Catholic principles of devotion'.[1] There was a variety of reasons for their dislike. The minister was often compelled to face the people for the prayers as well as the lessons, and this contravened the principle laid down by the bishops at the Savoy Conference in 1661, to which the ecclesiologists paid great regard. The reading pew was usually so placed that the minister could not turn towards the altar for the Creed; and its distance from the altar seemed to rob the offices of their connection with the Eucharist.

[1] *A Few Words to Church Builders*, p. 23.

But the chief reason for their dislike was a belief that the chancel was the proper and traditional place for the minister when taking the offices; and following Cosin, that it was the place which the Prayer Book rubric normally intends him to occupy. In their ideal church the stalls in the chancel were to be filled with clergy reciting the divine office. But they realized that some provision had to be made for the officiating minister to read the lessons, 'so standing and turning himself, as he may best be heard of all such as are present'; and that the Prayer Book rubric at any rate for the lessons demanded that he should occupy a place nearer the people than the chancel stalls, that, in fact, there should be something in the nature of a reading pew. The ecclesiologists therefore suggested that the minister should read the lessons from a lectern in the nave, placed at one side of the chancel arch opposite the pulpit. The lectern they had in mind was the kind which the Middle Ages had used either for the Gospel at Mass, or for the cantors during the singing of the divine office. The eagle variety was recommended as being the most useful as well as the most beautiful. The ecclesiologists, again following Cosin, thought that the Prayer Book rubrics demanded a special place for reading the litany at the entrance to the chancel; and they recommended the placing of a fald-stool or litany desk just below or just above the chancel steps.[1] Lecterns and litany desks had occasionally appeared in parish churches before the days of the ecclesiologists; but they are primarily responsible for the presence of these substitutes for the reading desk in almost every modern Anglican nave.

The ecclesiologists, in defending the new position which they advocated for the officiating minister during Morning and Evening Prayer, maintained that the people found it hard to take seriously the ministrations of a clergyman reading the service from a three-storeyed pulpit. He looked as if he was saying the prayers merely because he was paid to do so. On the other hand, the sight of a number of clergy in the chancel singing or saying the divine office without seeming to bother about the congregation, was far more likely to lead them to a greater spirit of worship and to take a more devout part in the service.[2]

It is a remark like this which shows how during the eighteen-

[1] *A Few Words to Church Builders*, pp. 23–4. [2] *Ecclesiologist*, iv, pp. 211–12.

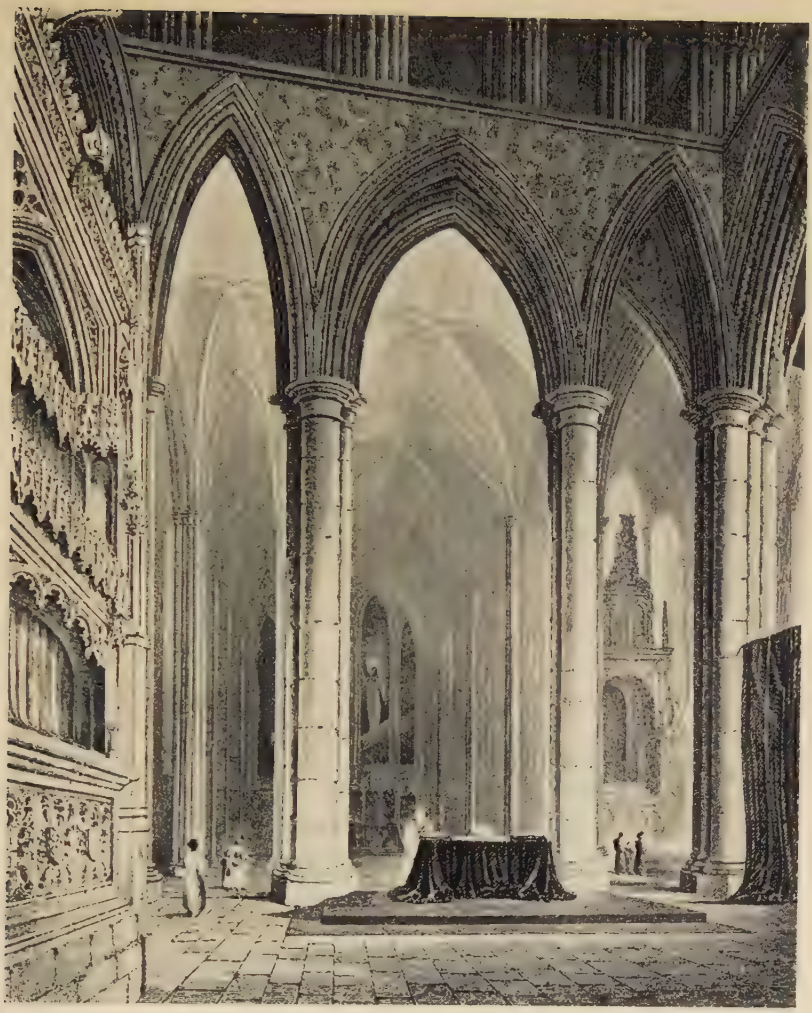


Plate XII

THE ALTARS IN THE CHOIR AND LADY CHAPEL OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL from an engraving in Vol. i. of H. & B. Winkles, *Architectural and Picturesque Illustrations of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales* (*1836–42*). See p. 215, footnote 2, for the reasons which led to the setting up of the two altars. The high altar in the foreground is an example of considerable dignity, although it has no ornaments whatever except the required covering and the service books (see p. 168).

forties a new attitude to liturgical worship was creeping into the Church. In the eighteenth century churchmen generally thought of worship as a taking part in the liturgy, following the service from their books and fully entering into its various moods and phases. But the ecclesiologists speak as if worship was the peculiar work of the clergy and a choir, in which there are certain parts, as, for instance, the lessons, which are peculiarly concerned with the laity. Their thought is on the glory of God, and the mystery and reverence which should surround His worship; they are anxious that the church services should create a certain atmosphere and make an impression on the minds of the people by the mysterious and by what appeals to a great deal more than man's understanding. Their aim is not so much that the services should be a corporate offering of priest and people but that they should be offered by clergy and a choir in such a way as to call out from the people an attitude of awe and adoration.

2. *The Surpliced Choir*

The ecclesiologists do not appear originally to have been much interested in choirs; the chancels, which they believed so necessary to a church, were intended to provide seats for the clergy taking part in the offices and to form a spacious and dignified setting for the celebration of the Eucharist. Neale at first thought a choir and organ should be in a small gallery at the west end;[1] as a rule he had no use for galleries and thought they should be removed. An organ gallery was the only exception he allowed. But very soon he seems to have given up allowing galleries even for choirs; for in a pamphlet published in 1843 he is willing to admit singers as well as the clergy into the chancel stalls.[2] In the eighteen-forties it was only a small percentage of churchmen who wanted chancels used either for a dignified celebration of the Eucharist, or for the singing of Mattins and Evensong by groups of clergy and a few singers. The plan of church advocated by the ecclesiologists would never have come to

[1] *A Few Words to Church Builders*, p. 23. Neale and the other ecclesiologists disliked galleries because they damaged the fabric of medieval buildings. People who sat in them felt they were more spectators than actual sharers in the service and were inclined to be irreverent. When the galleries were used by children, the constant shuffling of their feet on the floor disturbed the congregation underneath.

[2] *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement* (Cambridge, 1843), p. 16.

be regarded as almost the sole possible plan for an Anglican church were it not for the use which was found for chancels by the other group of churchmen, Dr. Jebb and Dr. Hook, who also contributed to the fully developed theory of church arrangement in the Victorian age.

The churchmanship of Hook and Jebb was a great deal more Laudian than that of the ecclesiologists, and was derived from Jebb's uncle, John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick from 1823 to his death in 1833. Most of the bishop's ministry as a parish priest was spent in the diocese of Cashel. His theology was learnt from the fathers and the High Church divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but his High Churchmanship had about it a warm-heartedness, a depth of spirituality and devotion, which were distinctly evangelical in tone. This may be due to his lifelong friendship with the celebrated Irish layman, Alexander Knox. As a boy Knox had come under the influence of Wesley; but later in life he became convinced that all that was good in Wesley's teaching needed the discipline of church order and the worship of the Prayer Book if it was to bear any fruit; and both he and Jebb made it their life-work to set Wesley's teaching in the framework of traditional High Churchmanship. As one would expect, Jebb had absorbed the liturgical teaching of the earlier Anglican divines; and a course of sermons which he preached on the Prayer Book in Cashel Cathedral in 1807 are among the best expositions of Anglican liturgical theory.[1] His nephew carried on this teaching.

Before Hook became vicar of Leeds in 1837, he had for nine years been vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry. Part of this time the Bishop of Limerick was living as an invalid at Leamington; and Hook formed a friendship with him and his nephew. The influence which the bishop's teaching had on his mind is in a great measure responsible for the fact that in churchmanship he was far nearer to the seventeenth-century divines than many of his Tractarian contemporaries. Judging from his letters, already at Coventry he was becoming dissatisfied with the traditional Anglican method of arranging a church. Quite independently of the ecclesiologists he had come to dislike high pews and lofty pulpits, and to think that a stall in the chancel and not a reading pew in the nave was the proper

[1] John Jebb, *Practical Theology* (ed. 1830), i. pp. 19–116.

place from which the minister should take the offices. In any case he thought the reading pew should be as low as possible and not resemble a pulpit. All that he did, however, at Coventry was to take the three-storeyed pulpit to pieces and to turn the reading pew round so that the minister faced east for the prayers.[1]

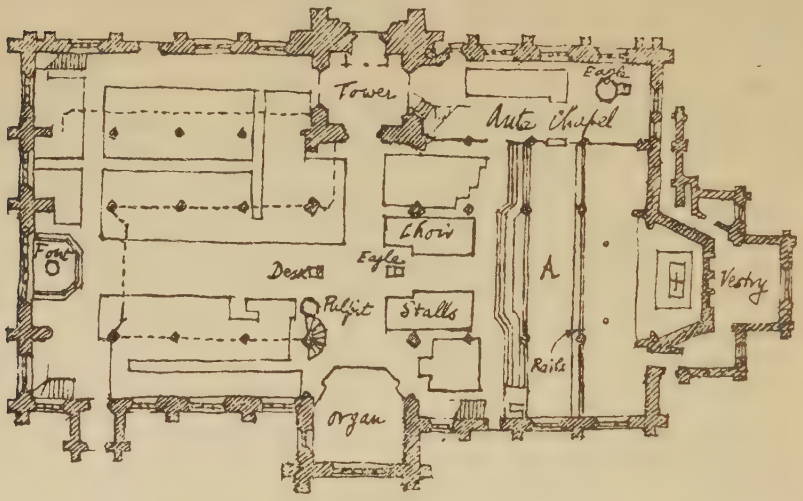
When Hook became vicar of Leeds in 1837, he found a great industrial city spiritually dead, and a parish church badly in need of repairs. It was a cruciform medieval building adapted to Prayer Book worship on the principle of different parts for different services. There was the large chancel, where the communicants gathered at the Invitation, separated from the rest of the church by a central tower; the altar was almost invisible from the nave, and the organ and choir were placed in a gallery over the western arch of the crossing. The distance of the altar from the people in the nave compelled Hook to continue the reading of Altar Prayers from the reading pew, much as he disliked the practice, being a good Laudian.

He very soon decided to pull down the old church and to build a new one which was to be the centre of worship and evangelism in the heart of the city. The result is the existing parish church of Leeds (Plan 52), built by R. D. Chantrell and consecrated in 1841. Architecturally it is not important; but in plan and arrangement it was epoch making, being the first large town church to exemplify the principles of the Cambridge ecclesiologists. This was recognized at the time; people spoke of it as the first great instance 'of the Catholic feeling of a church';[2] its details were pronounced by John Jebb to be in every respect Catholic.[3] The church is the prototype of a new plan of Anglican church, a plan which in its various forms since the eighteen-forties has been almost universally regarded as the only proper one for an Anglican place of worship.

The church is open from end to end, and is arranged in three parts, the nave for the congregation, with the chancel at its upper end for the clergy and surpliced choir, and the sanctuary for the celebrant and ministers at the Eucharist, separated from the rest

[1] W. R. W. Stephens, *The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook* (new ed., 1880), pp. 120, 191.
[2] *Ecclesiologist*, viii, p. 132.
[3] John Jebb, *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland* (1843), p. 209.

of the church by a flight of steps. When the church was first opened the altar was typically eighteenth century, with a picture of the Agony in the Garden, ascribed to Corregio, as an altar-piece; it was covered with a velvet carpet of royal crimson given by the dowager Queen Adelaide; on it were two cushions of the same material and two candlesticks. The minister sits in the



Plan 52

LEEDS PARISH CHURCH, Yorkshire. *Consecrated 1841, the architect being R. D. Chantrell. The internal arrangements of this highly interesting building, which marks the beginning of an epoch in Anglican usage, are discussed in the text, but note particularly the retention of a large platform or space at A, to which the communicants repair at the Invitation. The plan shows the church as arranged in 1877.*

choir stalls for the offices; he comes out to read the lessons from an eagle lectern on the south side of the church, and the litany from a fald-stool which in 1841 was placed in the middle of the chancel.[1] So far the church fulfils the principles laid down by the ecclesiologists; but there are two additional features, due not to the ecclesiologists, but to Jebb and Hook himself. Before the communion rail is

[1] R. W. Moore, *A History of the Parish Church of Leeds* (1877), pp. 24, 29–30, 53.

a wide step where the communicants can kneel from the Invitation onwards. This was Hook's own suggestion and is a witness to the traditional Anglican character of his catholicism. But it was not widely followed elsewhere. In the Victorian arrangement of our churches the choir stalls tended to encroach nearer and nearer the altar so that usually there is only a very small space left in between. The other feature is the presence in the choir stalls of a lay surpliced choir. To many people it is now almost unthinkable that the chancel stalls in a parish church should not be occupied by a surpliced choir; but the practice, however common, is not old. The first church of any note in which it was adopted, is the present parish church of Leeds.

To understand how the choir came to occupy this position it is necessary to examine the liturgical interests of John Jebb, the Bishop of Limerick's nephew and Hook's friend. Jebb combined his uncle's liturgical teaching with an interest in cathedral choirs. He wrote two books on the subject, *Three Lectures on the Cathedral Service of the Church of England*, originally given in Leeds in 1841 but not published in book form till 1845, and *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland*, published in 1843. The parishioners were anxious that in the new parish church Mattins and Evensong should be sung each day by a choir on the cathedral model; Hook not overwillingly agreed, and as he knew nothing about choirs he asked his friend John Jebb to help him in getting one together.[1] While Neale and his friends romanticized the Middle Ages, Jebb, and Hook eventually too under his influence, romanticized cathedral choirs. In the sung daily service of a cathedral Jebb believed that the worship of the Church of England was to be seen at its best. The following quotation illustrates his attitude to choirs: 'In the constitution of her choirs the Church of England has made the nearest possible approach to a primitive and heavenly pattern. Her white-robed companies of men and boys, stationed at each side of her chancels, midway between the porch and the altar, stand daily ministering the service of prayer and thanksgiving.'[2]

But Jebb, though he believed the cathedral service to be the ideal form of worship, was critical of the way in which cathedrals were

[1] *The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook*, pp. 335, 355.
[2] John Jebb, *Three Lectures on the Cathedral Service of the Church of England* (Leeds, 1845), p. 109.

arranged, especially of the division of the nave and choir into separate churches by a solid organ screen. He assumed that the best position for a choir was between the congregation and the altar, the position occupied by the singers in a basilican church of the fourth or fifth century, where even if there was a screen it was still possible for the congregation to see the altar; as he put it, the spirit of ecclesiastical order dictated that the clergy and ministers of divine worship should be between the altar and the people. The history of Anglican cathedrals represented in his view a decline from this order; by placing an organ screen between the choir and nave, an innovation unknown to the primitive church, the congregation had been deprived of all sight of both the cathedral body and the altar.[1] Jebb much disliked the practice of seating the congregation in the choir amongst the members of the cathedral body; the choir, he believed, should be occupied solely by the clerical and lay members of the foundation for whom it was intended. The validity of Jebb's argument depends on the assumption that the basilican arrangement is the only proper one for a Christian church, and that cathedral naves were built for congregations, which the blindness of the Middle Ages had prevented from taking much share in divine worship by the erection of solid screens between the choir and nave, an assumption which to a large extent is a misunderstanding of the intentions of the original builders of our cathedrals.

At the time Jebb was working out his theories about choirs, cathedral congregations were on the increase, and the attempt to seat them all in the chancel often had results which strict churchmen considered indecorous; in some cathedrals, if the bishop was not present, even the episcopal throne was occupied by members of the congregation.[2] Jebb and others boldly advocated the removal of the organ screen and the placing of the congregation in the nave, thus restoring what they believed to be the true method of arranging a place of worship.[3] Jebb's *Choral Service* was the first important book to suggest this practice, and whether or not as a result of his advocacy, after the eighteen-forties cathedrals began to be re-arranged according to his principles. Not all cathedrals took them up; the most notable ones were St. Paul's, Ely, and Durham. At St. Paul's

[1] *Choral Service*, pp. 190–3, 204–5. [2] *Ecclesiologist*, ii, pp. 34–5.
[3] *Choral Service*, pp. 205–8.

Tijou's screen and gates with the organ loft were removed altogether from their place between the choir and the space under the dome; at Durham and Ely the solid screens were replaced by open ones of brass and marble, the work of Sir Gilbert Scott.[1]

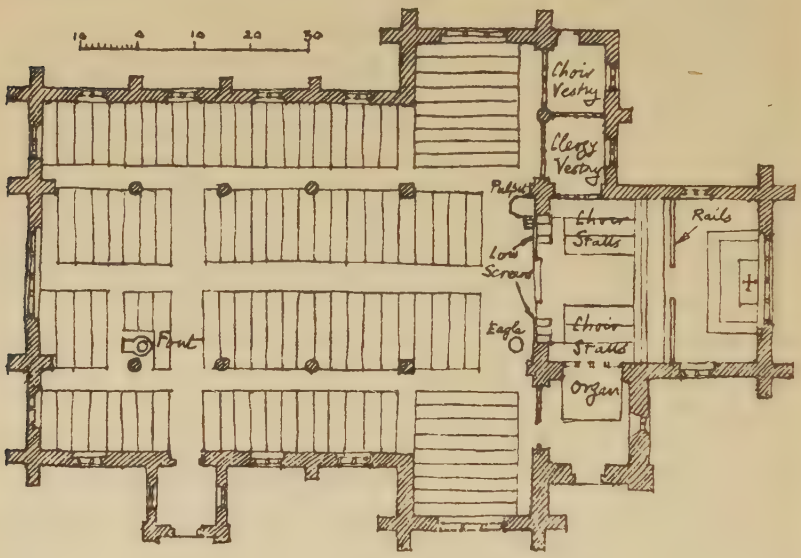
In making a whole cathedral one unit for worship with the clergy and choir between the congregation and the altar, the nineteenth century was attempting an impossible task[2] The long medieval cathedrals of England do not lend themselves to being used in this way; and even with an open screen, or no screen at all, the congregation can be little more than spectators of the worship offered in the choir. English cathedrals were not built for large popular congregations, and to use them as one whole for worship by ignoring the essential distinction between nave and choir is to court failure. The romantic view of the high altar from the back of the nave does not compensate for the throwing of the nave and choir into one. Not only does it make congregational worship difficult, but it ruins the proportions of both nave and chancel; for their full and proper effect these have to be seen as separate though combined units. When they have become one by the removal of the screen the individual beauties and proportions of each are lost in an undistinguishable mass of pillars and arches. When Cosin's organ screen was removed from Durham Cathedral, Pugin remarked that it had lost half its apparent length, half its grandeur, and had taken on something of the appearance of a conventicle.[3] Mr. Comper has

[1] Cf. Perkins, *Westminster Abbey*, i, pp. 162–5, for an account of how Christopher Wordsworth, the future Bishop of Lincoln, proposed to remodel Westminster Abbey on similar lines.

[2] The eighteenth-century architect, James Wyatt, tried to find a place for the congregation at Lichfield and Salisbury by removing the altar screen and throwing the choir and Lady Chapel into one. The high altar was set up at the east end of the Lady Chapel, so that the seats for the congregation came between the altar and the stalls of the cathedral body. At Salisbury the altar proved to be too far from the congregation, and another altar had to be set upon the site of the original high altar nearer the people; cf. Winkles, *Architectural and Picturesque Illustrations of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales* (1836–42), i, p. 14, for an engraving showing both altars, which is of interest as showing two altars so arranged in pre-Tractarian times, though it is by no means certain that the altar in the Lady Chapel remained in use. Winkles's plan, p. 4, shows only the latter altar, and Britton, *Chronological History of Christian Art in England* (1826), plate 46, gives a similar view but showing only the Lady Chapel altar. In Winkles's plate the altar nearest the choir stalls has no screen behind it and stands detached, in a very dignified manner, with a frontal covering all four sides and falling in folds; the Lady Chapel altar appears to be similarly draped. (See Plate XII.) At Lichfield the arrangement was far more dignified than outraged medievalists have been prepared to admit, especially with the altar in the setting of the Herckenrode windows.

[3] *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts*, pp. 65–6.

remarked of the nineteenth-century solution of the problem of cathedral worship that 'the attempt to use the church as if the whole building were a parish church, or one great quire, produces a most uncomfortable strain upon both the ministers and the congregation; while from the point of view of architectural beauty it is



Plan 53

A Typical Victorian Church. *The plan does not represent any particular building, but may be taken as a fairly good example of about 1870, by one of the minor architects of the period. The nave and chancel are somewhat wider than would normally be the case in a medieval building, and the chancel is relatively shallow, being in fact the eighteenth-century altar recess enlarged to accommodate the intruded choir stalls. Pews fill the building to the utmost possible extent; the organ occupies what would have been a chapel or chantry in a medieval church.*

absolutely ruinous'. He goes on to point out that the most practicable solution is to use either the choir or nave for services, but not both at the same time.[1] This is, of course, what has happened in

[1] *Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.*, iv, p. 88; cf. x, p. 61.

many cathedrals; a church with its own altar is created out of the nave and used when a large congregation is expected.

It was natural for Jebb, with his firm belief that in a cathedral the choir should be placed between the people and the altar, to advocate the placing of the choir in a parish church in the same position, especially when as at Leeds there was a sung daily service on the cathedral model, and the choir were robed in surplices. In any case Jebb had a great dislike for the practice of seating choirs and orchestras in singing lofts. He described it as 'an innovation of later times and popish in its origin'; while the obtrusive elevation which a gallery gave the singers introduced a theatrical air into the church and encouraged the congregation to turn their backs on the clergy and the altar. In a cathedral the lay clerks and choir boys have their seats below those of the cathedral clergy; for they are all members of one foundation whose work is the singing of the divine office. Jebb had a very exalted notion of the place in parish life of a surpliced choir; and on the analogy of cathedrals he argued that parochial choirs should be seated as near the clergy as possible, on the ground that they too had a special, even if subordinate part, in the offering of the parochial worship. Both the ecclesiologists and Hook and Jebb had come to the conclusion that the proper place for a minister officiating at Morning and Evening Prayer was a stall in the chancel; and since the sacred functions of the choir dictated that they should be near the clergy, the proper place for them too was the chancel. The organ had to be near the choir, so it also came to be placed in or near the chancel as well. Such was the argument which in the eighteen-forties led to the filling of chancels with organs and surpliced choirs, and so completed the typical Victorian method of arranging churches (Plan 53).[1]

A succession of sermons was preached in Leeds Parish Church during the week following the consecration; two by Hook and Jebb not only explain the new method of arranging a parish church, first exemplified at Leeds, but also reveal its weaknesses. Both dwell on the significance and importance attached to the altar in the new church, and Hook had insisted that it should be well raised and approached by a very broad and spacious flight of steps.[2] It is often

[1] Jebb, *Three Lectures on the Cathedral Service of the Church of England*, pp. 116–20; cf. *Choral Service*, pp. 203–4.

[2] *Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook*, pp. 331–2.

forgotten that the Church of England largely owes to the Victorians the idea that the altar alone should be the focus of devotion for every service; and that in England the idea was new, though the Laudian divines had been feeling towards it. Eighteenth-century churches with one or two liturgical centres had been planned with the idea of making the altar the devotional centre of the building; but the reading pew, pulpit, and font shared in the pre-eminence which it enjoyed. By placing the altar on a higher level than the chancel the Victorians intended that it should stand out as the most sacred object in the church. The tiled floor, the carved reredos, the brass ornaments, the flowers, which adorned the altar and sanctuary of a Victorian church, were all means to this end. Unfortunately in many churches the enrichment of the sanctuary meant the thrusting of the altar into the background; and the ritual trials concentrated the minds of people on what should be placed on the altar rather than the altar itself. Victorian churchmen had little use for baroque architects and their works; but their churches, however medieval their form, embody the baroque idea of the dramatic altar, that from the moment the worshipper enters the church he should see the altar and be drawn towards it, and that from the magnificence of its decorations he should be reminded of the glory and wonder of the Eucharist.[1]

In his sermon Jebb claims that Leeds Parish Church is planned according to the traditional principle of various parts of the church being used for various services. But when he goes on to explain what he means by the principle, he attaches to it a sense which is different from that of Hooker and Beveridge. In the seventeenth century the principle meant that different parts of the church were allotted to different services for both priest and people alike. To Jebb the principle means that at Morning and Evening Prayer each different part of the service is taken from a special place. The church is now planned not to teach people the meaning of each service and the part which it plays in the whole liturgy from the place in which it is taken, but to show the meaning of the various kinds of prayers and devotions which go to make up an individual service; or as Jebb puts it, that 'the different methods and kinds of prayer and praise

[1] *The Seven Sermons preached at the Consecration and Re-opening of the Parish Church of Leeds* (Leeds, 1841), pp. 100, 189.

may be duly discriminated, and exhibited in their proper colours and relief, to the heart and intellect'. So the prayers are read from the priest's desk in the chancel, the lessons from the lectern, the litany from the litany desk. The surplices of the choir show that it is their sacred duty to help the clergy in their work of leading public worship; and because the choir especially attend on this work they occupy a place near the altar higher than that of the laity.[1]

3. *The Cathedral Service*

It is frequently said that the cathedral service, with the intoning of the prayers and responses, the settings which only a well-trained choir can sing, makes the worship artificial and uncongregational when it is introduced into a parish church. Both Jebb and Hook realized this; but they believed that the cathedral service, in spite of these drawbacks, would give parochial worship a dignity and supernatural setting which was supposed to be lacking in the eighteenth-century type of service. Hook, for instance, thought that using what he calls 'a peculiar tone' for the prayers showed the difference between the church service and all other forms of human activity, and that it was no ordinary duty which the Church was performing.[2] Jebb felt that it was far more important to have a service well sung rather than one in which the congregation could join; and he dismisses the idea of congregational singing as 'a mistaken and modern notion'. Music was an adornment of divine service, and to him almost a necessary one, and it was not to be hindered from playing its proper part by what he calls 'the inharmonious or unmelodious discords of the unskilful'.[3] Corporate liturgical worship is set aside in favour of a beautifully sung service.[4]

A just appreciation of the Victorian method of arranging a church depends to a great extent on an understanding of the type of service and the type of parish which clergy like Hook and Jebb had in mind when they introduced a surpliced choir into the chancel. Both a sung

[1] *The Seven Sermons preached at the Consecration and Re-opening of the Parish Church of Leeds* (Leeds, 1841), pp. 188–9, 193.

[2] Ibid., p. 94.

[3] *Three Lectures on the Cathedral Service of the Church of England*, p. 107.

[4] Not all Victorian churchmen agreed with these ideas. Bishop Blomfield, for instance, thought the introduction of the fully choral service into parish churches inexpedient on account of its uncongregational character (Alfred Blomfield, ed. by: *A Memoir of Charles James Blomfield, D.D., Bishop of London* (2nd ed., 1864), p. 326).

Mattins and a sung Eucharist, as we know them to-day, are a result of the Oxford Movement, and both were substituted for the eighteenth-century Mattins, Litany, and Altar Prayers, which were mostly read with the addition of a few metrical psalms or hymns and an occasional anthem, in the belief that a choral service on the cathedral model was suitable for parish worship. Here they were, no doubt, right from their own point of view. There are many parishes, especially in the centre of great cities like Leeds, or in well-to-do suburbs and residential areas, where the people have come to prefer a fully sung Mattins or Eucharist with elaborate settings and anthems in spite of its uncongregational character, and find such a service more valuable than one which is simpler and more congregational. There is something in many Anglican minds which is no doubt helped by the sight of a surpliced choir round the altar, and for this type of service the Victorian arrangement is probably the best that is likely to be forthcoming; at least, we have not so far succeeded in devising a better; it provides a convenient setting for a dignified but not very congregational act of worship in parishes where such a worship is desirable. The great Victorian architects were extraordinarily successful in devising a church for such a service, especially when like Street they broke away from the strict medieval plan. Their broad naves bring large congregations in sight of the altar, and the aisles are often no more than processional avenues. The chancels are often little more than enlarged eighteenth-century altar places rather than medieval chancels. They are wide and shallow; and the broad space between the choir stalls in such cases prevents the choir obtruding itself on the attention of the congregation at the expense of the altar.[1]

Unfortunately many nineteenth-century architects made the mistake of adhering too mechanically to the medieval plan, not realizing that a church which aimed at a cathedral service needed a wide chancel. Their chancels are too long and too narrow; the high altar is too far from the congregation[2] and the chief feature in the church

[1] For a full and detailed treatment of the work of the architects of the Gothic Revival, see Sir Kenneth Clark: *The Gothic Revival, An Essay in the History of Taste* (1929), and B. F. L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century* (1938).

[2] Many Victorian churchmen thought it desirable, in order to create a sense of mystery and awe, that the altar should be some distance from the congregation and separated from them by an open screen and choir stalls; cf. Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, p. 257, where he enters a caveat against the idea of bringing the altar forward among the people without reserve or protection.

is the choir with its surpliced occupants. But the Victorian principles of arranging a church had their unhappiest results when applied to medieval buildings; and by the end of the century few had escaped replanning according to the principles of the ecclesiologists, with choir stalls between the people and the altar. As a rule medieval chancels are not wide enough to house an organ and choir stalls sufficient for a dozen men and a dozen boys, and nothing has so much spoilt their appearance as the rearrangement which they suffered in the nineteenth century. The raising of the level of the floor, the steps leading to the chancel and sanctuary, the heavy and cumbersome choir seats, the heaped-up music and choir books, the keyboard and pedals of the organ, all these have combined to make the chancel the most unsightly and generally the most untidy part of the church. The principles of Hook and Jebb generally meant the removal of the chancel screen in order to allow the altar to be seen from the back of the church, and to make the building a unity for worship. But where a surpliced choir has been introduced into the chancel and the screen allowed to remain the congregation seem scarcely more than onlookers of the liturgy.

In Leeds Parish Church Hook tried to obviate the separation which the choir stalls made between the people and the altar by the provision of a space before the communion rails where the communicants could kneel from the Invitation onwards; and the rails themselves are long enough to accommodate forty people at a time. In subsequent Victorian church building the Leeds plan was not followed; and since communicants have ceased to draw near at the Offertory or the Invitation, the Victorian arrangement of a church has meant the separation of the people from the altar and the celebrant at an early Eucharist. The separation is not so noticeable at a sung service when the choir stalls are occupied; but at an early service on a Sunday morning the celebrant is cut off from his people by a block of empty chancel seats; and the effect on the service is often depressing in the extreme. It is a great pity that the nineteenth century in starting what has since proved the backbone of the spiritual life of the Church of England, the early celebration each Sunday morning, should have failed to give it a corporate setting.

The vigour, devotion, and self-sacrifice which people like Miss

Yonge's heroine, Ethel May, expended in building such churches, should not blind us to the fact that there are an ever-increasing number of parishes, especially perhaps in villages and new housing areas, where the choral service and the method of arranging a church which goes with it are not suitable and ought never to have been introduced. Succeeding generations are left with the problem of planning or rearranging churches where the liturgy can be offered in a simpler, more direct, and corporate way, and yet preserving all that is best in the Victorian tradition, with its emphasis on the altar as something which must be visible from every part of the church and on the church itself, expressing the mystery and splendour of Christian worship.

Chapter VIII

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Present Opportunity

The purpose of this book has been to trace the history of the way in which Anglican churches have been arranged from the Reformation to the early years of the present century. What has been done since the Reformation will always be the most influential element in Anglican ecclesiology, because it was an attempt to plan churches not for any kind of services but for the liturgical congregational worship of the Prayer Book. The Church of England has been and will continue to be profoundly affected by what it conceives to have been the practice of the primitive church, and also by its own medieval past; it has also felt the attraction, and will doubtless continue to do so, of the ecclesiology of the Counter-Reformation. But the buildings of the primitive church, the Middle Ages, or of the Counter-Reformation, were not planned for the services of the Prayer Book; consequently they can only be a very secondary source of inspiration in planning or rearranging an Anglican church. The chief source must be our own past, especially that period in it which emphasized the classic principle of Anglican ecclesiology, that both for the Sacraments and for the other offices the altar and the officiating minister must be placed in close relationship to the people. In a building which attempts to be true to all that is best in the Anglican tradition, everything must be subordinated to this principle; for on its successful realization depends that congregational liturgical worship which is the aim of the Book of Common Prayer.

At present the majority of Anglicans are disposed to pay the greatest deference to the ecclesiological ideas which have held sway for the last hundred years; ideas which, however important, represent a certain departure from the classic principles of the Anglican tradition. It is assumed that the most desirable, and indeed the only reasonable, arrangement for our churches should be one in which the principal altar is set at the east end of a long building, new or old, and separated from the people by a surpliced choir, and often with a further element of separation in a medieval type of chancel screen of greater or lesser elaboration. The pulpit occupies a position close to the chancel arch or chancel screen, either on the north or south side of the nave; and opposite to it is the lectern, usually of the eagle type;[1] the font is in its medieval position at the west end, even if it means that baptisms cannot have a congregational character. The seats for the congregation, as far as possible, all face east. The arrangement of the choir has generally led to the placing of an organ, as a solid unit in a north or south chancel chapel or chamber, or at the east end of an aisle, with results that are regarded as bad from both a musical and an acoustic point of view. Rood-lofts, the traditional medieval place for the singers in the modern sense, have been introduced very sparingly indeed, and rarely used for their earlier purpose; the often valuable west galleries have in most cases been demolished. These arrangements are based upon, and supposed to conform to, the later medieval planning of church interiors. But even if it had been desirable to re-introduce the medieval arrangements in detail, the typical nineteenth and early twentieth century arrangements differ from them in a number of ways, notably with regard to the filling of the chancel with seats for large number of men and boys.[2]

But already churches planned in this way are taking on the character of a period piece. They have a self-conscious air; every piece of furniture occupies a certain position without much regard to local needs or conditions, because on the ecclesiological principles

[1] The almost invariable use of lecterns in the nave for reading the lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer dates mainly from Victorian times, v.s.pp. 207–8.

[2] This divergence is a matter of *degree*; there is no doubt that singing boys were placed in medieval chancels; but they were few in number, no seats were provided for them, except in a few instances, and desks for boys are unknown (F. E. Howard and F. H. Crossley, *English Church Woodwork* (1917), p. 154). This, of course, applies to parish churches and not to cathedrals or collegiate choirs in the true sense, where the conditions were entirely different.

worked out by members of the Cambridge Camden Society the position is supposed to be the correct one. Because each piece of furniture has to be in its correct position, there is a dull uniformity in the churches arranged after the Victorian pattern. Whenever we see one, we can tell almost exactly how it will be arranged and what it will look like inside. In contrast to this self-conscious correctness and uniformity, the period between the Reformation and the eighteen-forties showed on the whole a remarkable degree of intelligent adaptation and flexibility with regard to the needs of that time, combined with loyalty to what are the classic principles governing the planning of an Anglican church. It is this adaptability and flexibility combined with loyalty to our own classical tradition in liturgical arrangements which it is so necessary to recapture without any slavish aping of the details of any particular style or period.

The destruction caused by the war and the consequent cessation of church building, taken together with modern methods of construction available, present an extraordinary opportunity not likely to occur again of recapturing this tradition, and it ought to be seized upon and used to the full. It has not been the purpose of this book to lay down meticulous details as to how a church should be arranged, or to offer easy solutions of the many delicate problems involved. Rather we have tried to present the actual facts and the theories underlying them in as objective a light as possible, and to leave it to the clergy and laity, and to the architects and other technical persons whom they may employ, to adapt the principles of the classical Anglican tradition to the present-day problems with which they will be faced, whether in connection with the rebuilding of destroyed churches, or the re-adaptation of medieval or later buildings to modern needs, or the construction of entirely new churches. But it may not be without value to deal in general terms with a few of the points that appear to arise from the examination attempted in this book, and to discuss their relevance to-day. The points are three in number, and are concerned broadly with the shape and ornaments of the altar; the position of the minister when taking the services, and of the choir and organ, in relation to the congregation; and the use of screens, whether of the solid pulpitum or open type.

2. *Practical Considerations*

I

In the Anglican tradition the altar is a table, Ridley's 'honest table',[1] sometimes of stone, more often of wood, and should be 'simple comme une table' as an eighteenth-century Archbishop of Lyons told his cathedral chapter.[2] The altar should therefore look like a table, and not like a dresser or sideboard, or a stand for flowers or candles. Its ornaments should be determined by its nature as the table of the Lord, and not primarily by aesthetic considerations or the need of something to hold the attention of the congregation during the service and to make a convenient focus for their devotions. Whatever ornaments are used they should therefore help to bring out this character of the altar as a table, and this is best done when they are kept to a minimum. Only one ornament is definitely prescribed by our ecclesiastical law and that is a covering, so that the altar should be kept clean and veiled out of reverence. It is indeed preferable, at least in theory, to place ornaments round rather than on the altar, but the well-established Anglican tradition of two lights standing on the table[3] clearly commends itself to the vast majority of Anglicans, and is not likely to be seriously modified. If there is a picture or piece of sculpture behind the altar, a cross is unnecessary, often breaking into the reredos and spoiling it. If a church possesses fine communion plate, whether old or modern, it could all be set out on the altar at festivals, even if all the pieces are not needed, thus making the sanctuary the scene of a veritable Epiphany. Some parishes may in the future wish to restore the practice of placing specially bound copies of the Bible and Prayer Book upright at the back of the altar. As altar ornaments these books have a venerable tradition behind them; and placing the Bible in a position of honour on the altar is a way of witnessing to the scriptural character of our faith, worship, and church government. There is much to be said for keeping the altar free from all

[1] v.s.p. 26.

[2] For this story, see A. Sachet, *Le Pardon Annuel à Saint-Jean de Lyon* (Lyon, 1914–18), ii, p. 456.

[3] An altar shelf or gradine was not unknown during the period under review (see Plate IX and p. 169, footnote 1), but up to the time of the Oxford Movement the almost universal custom, derived from that of the Middle Ages, was undoubtedly to place the lights and other ornaments directly upon the table.

ornaments, apart from the frontal, except during the time of service.

The material of the altar in the Anglican tradition includes the use of wood, stone, and metal. As has been seen, stone altars were by no means uncommon during the period between the Reformation and the Oxford Movement, and the use of a stone or marble slab supported by a frame or brackets of metal (and occasionally of wood) was perhaps even more common in the eighteenth century. But the altar made of wood was, and seems likely to continue to be, the normal use. The choice of material should surely be one of suitability and convenience in individual cases, and the whole question might with advantage be lifted out of the morass of controversy and legal nicety.

The dimensions of the altar are a matter of considerable importance. The height is obviously determined by practical considerations and can be taken at about a metre. There has been a tendency in recent years to assume that a greater length of the altar presupposes automatically a greater degree of dignity, but this view hardly seems to bear a close examination as so many other factors are involved.[1] The placing of the Holy Table, whether against an east wall or standing free in a spacious sanctuary; its setting, whether before a reredos or great wall tapestry, or under a ciborium, or enshrined by posts and hangings, all these factors have a bearing on its length, the determining of which must in the end be left to the designer and cannot depend on *a priori* considerations. The depth of the altar from front to back is a cardinal matter, and many long altars of insufficient depth look poor and mean; on the other hand, the nearly square tables of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often possess great dignity when suitably treated.

The traditional post-Reformation arrangement by which an 'ascent' of one or more steps led to a simple dais or pavement on which the altar stood has much indeed to commend it, on the ground of dignity and simplicity and even of convenience.[2] The medieval footpace was not unknown, but the general tendency was undoubtedly to omit it.

[1] This view appears to have arisenf rom the undoubted great length of some medieval altars; but it might be maintained that the evidence, so far as it goes, rather points to these being exceptional and that, in fact, the ordinary medieval altar was of no greater length than the average Anglican altar of the last century.

[2] Many priests seem to find a greater sense of comfort and security in a flat pavement without the complication introduced by the change of levels at the footpace.

Although the evidence suggests that altar rails were not originally introduced, at least in many cases, for the use of the communicants, but rather in order to give a measure of protection and dignity to the altar, they may nowadays be considered mainly from a utilitarian point of view as communion rails. As such, it would seem that tradition demands that they should be of ample length, whether they surround the altar (cf. Plan 56), or stretch in a line before it, to take a good number of communicants at the same time, thus emphasizing the corporate nature of the action.[1] Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century examples of rails, both in England and abroad, show a far greater degree of variety and boldness in attaining the desired end, whether they take the form of rails round the altar on three or four sides, or by the use of semi-circular or curved rails, or even by their prolongation into a sort of passage westwards; all these methods provide for a larger number of communicants at one time than do our customary and somewhat timid arrangements of to-day. Rails have been formed of wood, stone, and metal, and will no doubt continue to be so formed, including probably the use of the newer metals and alloys available at the present time.

Little need be said in regard to the indispensable altar covering or frontal, except to plead for quality and richness in the fabric and simplicity in its treatment, and the elimination of ecclesiastical fripperies. Both the straight and the full type of frontal have ample precedent; the latter, which appears to be creeping back into favour, provides a fine and dignified method of draping the altar, with its ample folds at the corners, but reasons of space may often preclude its use.

Fears are often expressed that if the altar stands near the people or amongst the people they will lose that sense of awe and mystery at the Eucharist which is sometimes said to be engendered by an altar half-hidden behind a chancel screen or choir stalls. The fears are clearly to some extent justified; a certain undue familiarity with the altar and its mysteries may result in churches where the liturgical tradition is not strong or is perhaps almost non-existent, and the altar must therefore be dignified both in itself and in its appointments, and in its setting. But none the less it is surely the fact that

[1] An example may be seen in the parish church of Altarnon, Cornwall, where the rails, 1684, extend in an unbroken line across the east end of the building. A modern example will be found in the church of St. Wilfrid, Brighton, 1933.

the Church of England has definitely subordinated the 'numinous' or mysterious treatment of the altar to its close relationship to the faithful gathered round it for worship and communion. This may be seen both from the relevant rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer and from the basic Anglican documents printed at the end of this book, and what applies to the altar applies equally to the minister conducting the service.

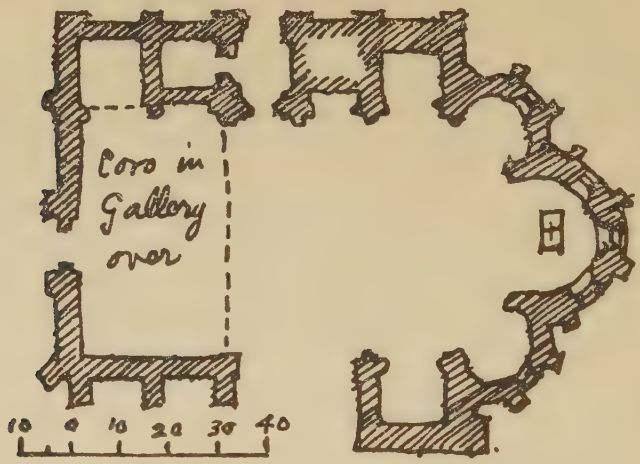
II

Up till the eighteen-forties the Church of England had in theory, at any rate, arranged its buildings on the principle that the priest when taking a service should be reasonably near his people, so that they could both see and hear him reading the service in his natural voice, without raising it unduly or being compelled to shout. The principle was still largely followed in the Victorian age as regards Morning and Evening Prayer; even when the priest was put back in the chancel, his stall was at least placed at its west end, and he came out into the nave to read the lessons. Unfortunately the re-introduction of long chancels was often to result in the priest only being heard with difficulty when he was celebrating at the high altar. But liturgical worship in the Church of England necessitates the priest being both seen and heard by his people when taking a service; and a church where he can only be seen and heard with difficulty is not a church well planned for the services of the Prayer Book; for in such cases the people are unable to take their full part in a worship which is supposed to be congregational as well as liturgical.

The principle, as Wren saw,[1] necessitates a certain limitation in the size of churches; long, lofty buildings may be suitable for a liturgy where emphasis is laid more on seeing than hearing; but however inspiring and splendid such buildings may be, they are not often well suited for Prayer Book worship. A building intended for Church of England services needs to be wide and not too lofty, and so arranged that the seats are nowhere very far from the priest whatever service he may be taking (cf. Plan 54). It is sometimes said that over-large buildings can be made suitable for Anglican services by the installation of microphones and loudspeakers. But

[1] v.s.pp. *55–6*.

this is to misunderstand the nature of liturgy. A liturgical service is an act which is both corporal and natural. It is offered by the clergy and their people, each taking their allotted part. But it is something which is eminently natural, the act of a group of people who see each other, and through seeing each other, oddities and mannerisms included, become conscious that they are a homogeneous body en-

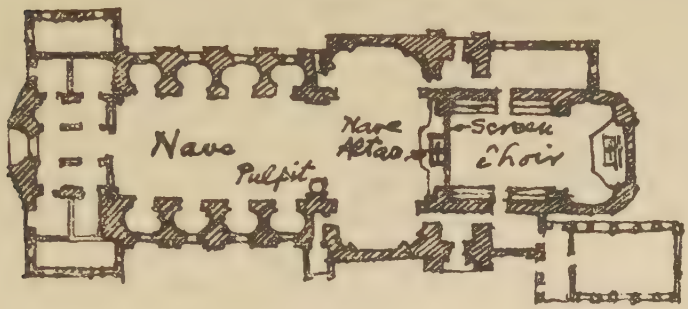


Plan 54

San Saturnino, Pamplona, Spain. *Built probably in the fourteenth century according to Street. In this case the* coro *is placed in a west gallery, a common method in Spanish parish churches, and this seems to have been the original arrangement here. In this way, the whole of the nave is available for the congregation, and Street says that 'such a church would probably hold about 600 worshippers, all in sight of the altar'.*

gaged in the work of worship. But directly the people begin to reply not to a priest whom they see and hear reading his part of the service but to a voice coming through a loudspeaker placed either over their heads or behind their backs, the natural element in the liturgy begins to disappear, and with it too a sense that it is a corporate act of a group of people with bodies as well as souls.

The comparative limitation on the size of churches demanded by the nature of the Prayer Book services, is something which to-day is difficult in many places to carry out. In the past the usual practice has been for there to be numerous independent parishes, with a staff of one or two clergymen. At the present time the shortage of manpower, among other reasons, is making for a policy of large



Plan 55

ZWIEFALTEN, Wurtemberg, *Germany. Built 1737–66. This baroque plan has been chosen from among a wealth of fine examples because it seems to suggest a possible solution of some modern problems. Allowing for differences of architectural treatment, such a type of plan would provide an excellent arrangement of a central 'quasi-collegiate' church, with its choir for daily services behind the nave altar, the nave itself forming a congregational auditory church in itself. Such a scheme is, of course, susceptible of considerable variation in detail.*

churches, staffed by a group of priests who minister to a wider area. In many respects, no doubt, this is a desirable policy; but from the point of view of worship there are limits to its effective working, for a church intended for the services of the Prayer Book must be such that from every part the ministers can be heard speaking and reading in their natural voices. Fortunately the limits, as set by Wren, are tolerably wide, and such large central churches will probably take on a quasi-collegiate character which would simplify the

problem in some degree. (Plan 55; cf. also Plans 56 and 57.) In the case of existing churches with reasonably large chancels, these latter would no doubt be taken over by the staff of clergy as their 'quire' for what might be called the chapter services, i.e. the daily offices and celebrations, not excluding, of course, such of the laity as might be disposed to attend these services. For general congregational purposes a permanent nave altar would be provided, the nave so becoming an auditory church in itself. In the case of new churches similar arrangements would no doubt apply, except that a greater degree of freedom would be permissible in planning the main congregational space with its altar, and the part of the church to be used primarily by the clerical staff. Such small collegiate churches were quite common in the Middle Ages, as is well known, and if medieval precedents were followed, some sort of solid screen or pulpitum would separate the two main parts of the building in question.

The principle that the officiating minister must be heard clearly from every part of the church used for general congregational services, seems to point to the avoidance, in new churches, of chancels which are anything more than relatively shallow altar places at the east end of the nave; for it is the position of the altar at the end of a long chancel, as it is usually arranged, which makes it so difficult for the people to see and hear the priest clearly at a celebration. It means, therefore, that the part of the church where the people assemble for the ordinary Sunday services would be a single room or compartment, with a liturgical centre generally at one end in relation to which the pews would be arranged. Often, no doubt, this would take the form of placing the pulpit and reading desk one on each side of the space surrounding the altar (cf. Plans 56 and 57). In a small church the reading desk might adjoin the pulpit, and there is much to be said for reading the lessons from the same place as the rest of the office, in order both to show that the scriptural lessons are read in the setting of the liturgy and to avoid scattering odd pieces of furniture about the building. The reading desk can easily be so contrived that some person other than the priest taking the office can read the lessons. In those new churches where church life has to be built up from the beginning, it might sometimes be wise to place the font on one side of the altar place, so that the

congregation could learn the importance and meaning of Baptism.[1] In small churches where the congregation is static and all know one another, there is much to be said for arranging the seats like those in a cathedral choir or college chapel, with the reading desk and the pulpit at the west end. It would be necessary to provide a really wide central alley to prevent people being disturbed by looking too closely into each other's faces; but the arrangement would give a unity in speech and song which is so often lacking when the people all face in the same direction.

The essential ornaments of the church, the pulpit, the reading desk, and the lectern, would doubtless be designed on commonsense lines and with due regard to convenience; in the period with which we are dealing they took various forms and were often, particularly as regards the first two, separate pieces of furniture. But they were perhaps even more frequently linked together, with the addition of the clerk's pew, to form the much despised 'three-decker'. Opinion seems now to be changing in this connection, and indeed it is difficult to follow the reasoning which led to the degree of contempt so often shown for what is surely a reasonable and logical arrangement and one which, as many old photographs and old examples still happily left to us show, can take a noble architectural form; indeed, in more than one old church the 'three-decker' is the most impressive object in the building with its fine timber and its beautiful carpentry and mouldings, being in its way as massive and significant an ornament as was the rood-loft. The 'three-decker', at least in its general form and construction, has affinities with the ambo, which is without doubt an ancient and respectable piece of church furniture, and it has been called the 'Anglican ambo' not without reason. A similar bringing together of scattered pieces of furniture into one impressive unit may still be found valuable, as prejudice diminishes, and with the anticipated shortage of clergy it is by no means certain that the need may not again be felt for some form of clerk's pew for the use of a lay reader.

In many churches it is difficult to bring the people near the priest at a celebration because of the choir stalls; and though this position of the choir in the chancel will doubtless be retained as best suited

[1] In order to do this, however, a dispensation from Canon LXXXI ordering the font to stand in the ancient, usual places would have to be obtained from the Bishop.

to some types of parishes, there are signs that since 1930 and earlier a definite reaction has set in against it, and that church people are becoming increasingly conscious of its disadvantages. It is significant that in many new churches where the Victorian arrangement has been adopted, the choir stalls have been made as low and unobtrusive as possible, with a really wide alley in between so as to allow a good view of the altar.[1] Alternative positions have in a number of cases been adopted for the choir and organ, such as a west[2] or side[3] gallery, or a position at the eastern end of the nave, either in the front seats or with the choir seats arranged to face north and south, in a manner somewhat analagous to the basilican arrangements.[4]

Galleries, especially those arranged for the organ and singers, have not deserved the contemptuous epithets levelled at them by the Victorian ecclesiologists. They have a long and interesting history in the sacred buildings of the Christian Church; and a well-designed gallery or balcony at the west end or the side of a nave, with a good staircase leading up to it, or in the form of a loft over the chancel screen,[5] or some other screen, can add much interest

[1] E.g., St. Columba's, Anfield, Liverpool, 1932; St. Gabriel's, Blackburn, 1933; St. Michael's and All Angels', Withenshawe, Manchester, 1937; the Holy Redeemer, Streatham Vale, 1932, where the width shown on the plan between the fronts of the choir stalls is as much as twenty-four feet, a width greater than that of many chancels.

[2] E.g., The Good Shepherd, Carshalton, 1930; St. Francis of Assisi, Bournemouth, 1930; St. Saviour's, Eltham, 1932–3; St. Mary the Virgin, Kenton, 1937–8. An interesting variant of the west gallery can be seen in the church of St. John Baptist, Tottenham, 1939, where it forms a kind of bridge across the second bay of the nave from the west end, the western bay serving as a baptistry; there is no screen under this gallery.

[3] E.g., St. Nicholas's, Burnage, Manchester, 1931–2. In the Roman Catholic Church of St. Monica's, Bootle, the choir is placed in a side gallery, with the express purpose of leading and encouraging the congregation rather than dominating it. In the cathedral at Barcelona, with its magnificent *coro*, the singers occupy a gallery in the south transept opposite the great organ. At the church of the Epiphany, Gipton, Leeds, 1939, the choir is placed in raised balconies on each side of the sanctuary, the balconies being reached by steps behind the altar.

[4] E.g., John Keble Church, Mill Hill, 1936. Here the reading desk and pulpit are placed one on each side of the altar recess, and the choir seats are arranged in what would otherwise be the front rows of the nave seats; they are on the same level as the rest of the nave seats, so that the choir are made a part of the congregation. The organ console is placed by the choir seats, the organ itself being in a west gallery. The choir seats are arranged facing each other in the usual way, across the central alley, and have returned stalls for the clergy. At North Stoneham, Hampshire, a medieval church, the chancel was emptied of choir stalls some years ago and the choir placed in a block of seats on the north side of the nave. A similar position is occupied by the choir at St. Oswald's, Durham, for the parish Communion. The placing of the choir and organ at the west end of the nave has, of course, become not uncommon in country parish churches, e.g., Childrey, Berkshire, and Dennington, Suffolk, amongst others.

[5] The retention of the medieval rood-loft, as may be seen to advantage in such Welsh churches as Patricio, Brecknockshire, and Bettws-Newydd, Monmouthshire,

and variety to a church, particularly when it is of the auditory or single room type; they can thus not only enormously improve the appearance of the interior but can help to lessen the amount of floor space taken up by choir seats or pews (cf. Plans 54, 56, and 57).

The advantages of having a choir and organ in a west gallery are threefold. The congregation are brought nearer to the priest and the altar. An organ of any size sounds better when it stands with open space all round it, rather than in a constricted organ chamber leading off the chancel, or at the end of an aisle under a relatively low roof. The congregation are more likely to sing when they hear the sound of the choir coming from behind them;[1] while the sight of a choir in the chancel is perhaps apt to encourage the congregation to leave them to do the singing. But having a choir in a gallery may have its drawbacks. The choir themselves may feel out of the service, more like mere performers, and tempted to do no more than to sing their parts and to make no effort to enter into the rest of the service. In a gallery the discipline of the boys may go to pieces when they are no longer under the eye of the incumbent and the congregation, though this depends to some extent on the authority and placing of the organist or choir master. The absence of the formal entry and exit of the choir may deprive the service of an element at the beginning and end which has become dear to many church people. Without a choir in front to give them a lead an untrained congregation may be inclined to become self-conscious and not to know when to stand or sit or kneel. But these are minor difficulties for which a solution can usually be found with a little goodwill and effort.

In churches with a large west window, often a most valuable source of light inside the building, a west gallery may well prove unsuitable. In such cases, and in the case of ancient churches with a fine tower arch, it may often be wiser to place the singers on a low

---

and of the eighteenth-century gallery like that which runs round the chapel of Capel-y-Fin, Brecknockshire, gives an air of distinction to what would otherwise be dull interiors. In Wales the rood-loft has survived to a greater degree than elsewhere, but there are similar English examples such as the late screen and rood-loft in the little church of Hubberholme, Yorkshire.

[1] Not all authorities are agreed on this point; cf. S. H. Nicholson, *Quires and Places Where They Sing* (S.P.C.K., 1932), pp. 188–9, for an argument in favour of the usual modern position for the choir on the ground that it helps the congregation to sing.

platform at the west end of the nave, with a panelled or balustraded front.[1] A complete arrangement of stalls for choir and clergy could be placed at the west end of the nave, and this might provide a useful solution of the problem in some parishes.[2] In certain churches it may be desirable to bring the high altar well forward for congregational reasons, and in such cases the choir, or choir and clergy, might well be placed behind the altar, an arrangement which has some precedent and considerable convenience in its favour.

In many country churches and in other places where there is no adequate choir and a fully choral service is undesirable on other grounds, with the singing confined to the canticles and hymns and the sung parts of the Eucharist, the congregation might be led by a few singers in no special dress and of both sexes, without the aid of choir boys or of surplices. These singers could occupy a gallery or platform, or seats in the nave either at the eastern or western end of this, or wherever else in the building might seem advantageous; such positions would not create in their case the difficulties which may occur with a formal choir of men and boys. In all such matters each case must be considered on its merits.[3]

The problem, therefore, which as long as there are choirs in the present sense of the word will always be complex and difficult, is to find a place for the singers from where they can give a due contribution of dignity to the service and also appear in a real relationship to the congregation, leading them in the worship rather than seeming apart from them, and at the same time not dividing the people from the altar.

Closely bound up with the placing of the choir is that of the organ and organist. The first considerations are no doubt acoustic and musical, and here the experts seem to be agreed on the following points. The confined organ chamber so prevalent during the last

[1] v.s.p. 99. There is a good example of such a singers' platform at the west end of Besselsleigh, Berkshire, where the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century fittings remain untouched; also at Richard's Castle, Herefordshire; and a Victorian example at Slaidburn, Yorkshire.

[2] A plan for such an arrangement was at one time in existence for the church of St. Jude-on-the-Hill, Hampstead Garden Suburb.

[3] It is not essential that the singers should occupy stalls or pews when performing their function; the old method of gathering round a great lectern, or round a singers' table, has much to recommend it, and might well be the subject of experiment; cf. the well-known plan of Lancelot Andrewes's private chapel reproduced in his *Minor Works*, p. xcvii, where the table for the singers is placed in the centre of the building with benches round three sides.

hundred years or so is probably the worst of all methods of installing an organ, nor can much be said for the position at the east end of an aisle which is so common. The placing of an organ, other than some small portable instrument, in a chancel is undesirable. Organs in general tend to be too large in many cases for the buildings in which they are placed, and instruments of any size are better set at some height above the ground level where possible, and with ample open space around them. These considerations would probably be endorsed by most architects searching for ways of disposing an organ in a comely manner, and the modern methods of construction which enable an instrument to be split up into suitable sections, with the console placed in a convenient relationship to the singers, help greatly in dealing with the problem. The organ is not the only musical instrument available for use in church services, and apart from such possible alternatives as the piano or the harpsichord, provision should be made where suitable for small orchestras or bands, either in place of, or ancillary to, the main organ or other instrument.

It is clear that much careful experiment will have to take place, and perhaps some change of general outlook on the whole question, before entirely suitable methods of accommodating choirs and musical instruments under modern conditions are achieved, bearing in mind the two cardinal points that the singers should be in a position to lead the congregation rather than to do the singing for them, and that they should not separate the people from the altar.

3. *The Nave Altar*

Up till the time of the Cambridge ecclesiologists the screen, where it existed, was used in parish churches to divide the building into different parts for different services; one part for the Eucharist and one part for Morning and Evening Prayer and the Ante-Communion. Very occasionally a screen was used to separate off a place in the transept or aisles from the main body of the church for week-day offices. In cathedral and collegiate churches the pulpitum or organ screen served to enclose the part used for all the services, with the possible exception of Baptism, from the rest of the building. Since the eighteen-forties one of two things has happened:

either a vanished chancel screen or pulpitum has not been replaced, or a screen may even have been removed, though sometimes a beam has been placed across the chancel arch with the rood and its attendant figures; or the screen has been retained and allowed to separate the clergy and choir in the chancel from the people in the nave, the very thing which the sixteenth-century reformers were anxious to prevent. But though it is a departure from the best in our tradition to permit a screen to divide the priest from his people in public worship, this does not involve the banishing of screens from our churches. There is still a place for them, dividing the buildings into different parts for different services and uses, though not necessarily in precisely the same way as was done before the Oxford Movement.

The legacy of screenwork left to us from times past, and particularly from the Middle Ages, may be divided into two simple categories: first, the great organ screen, which in cathedral and collegiate churches takes the form of the solid pulpitum (usually in medieval days with a rood-screen to the west of it) and in parish churches of the more open chancel screen with or without its rood-loft; and secondly, the parclose screen, generally of a lighter character, and serving to enclose the minor altars in their chapels. For both these categories there is, of course, ample opportunity for continued use within the Anglican tradition, though with some modifications.

It seems fairly certain that in cathedrals and collegiate churches, the pulpitum will be retained where it has not been destroyed, or will even in some cases be replaced, for there has now been sufficient time in which to judge the unfortunate results of the attempt to throw the cathedral choir and nave into one. The solution of the problem here seems to lie in the provision of permanent nave altars in our cathedrals and greater churches,[1] either in front of the pulpitum or of a rood-screen one bay further west where space permits of this. It may be perhaps suggested in this connection that the singers and instrumentalists employed in such congregational nave services might be better housed in the pulpitum, or at the east end of the nave aisles or at the west end of the nave, rather than in un-

[1] E.g., the nave altars in Gloucester and Lincoln Cathedrals and Westminster Abbey.

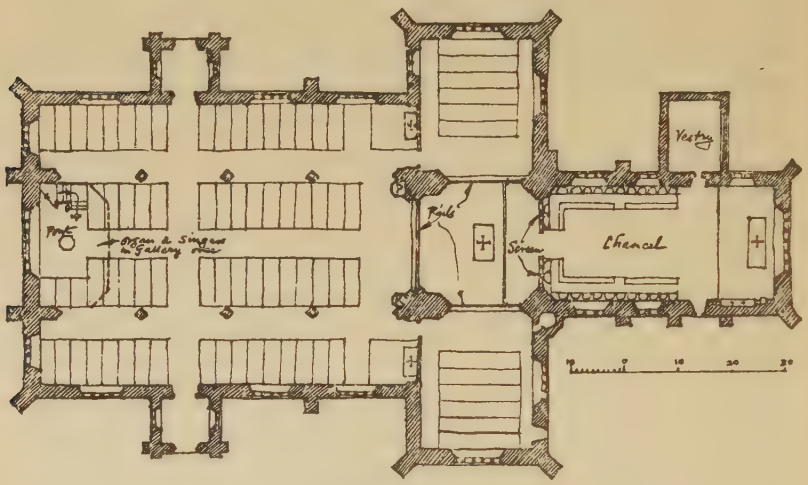
necessary additional choir stalls taking up valuable congregational floor space.

In cathedral and collegiate churches the structural choir is, or should be, a self-contained unit, and is really an excellent example of what is meant by an 'auditory' church; in parish churches, particularly in the medieval examples with their long chancels set behind the great screens, the high altar is often far too remote from the people, as has been seen, and the crowding of the chancels by choirs, and too often by organs also, has intensified the difficulty. We have seen that one earlier solution of the problem was to retain the chancels for the sole purpose of the Communion Service, using the nave for the offices. This was a logical and very reasonable practice, but for many reasons it seems unsuitable for present-day needs in the majority of cases.

Among the expedients employed in our own days for surmounting the difficulty, is the practice common in a number of parishes of setting-up a temporary altar at the head of the nave for what is generally called a Parish Communion or People's Eucharist; such services are usually held on Sundays and major festivals, and are sung, but are at an hour sufficiently early for the congregation to communicate fasting. The practice represents a move in the direction of undoing that separation of the people from the principal altar created by long chancels behind a screen.[1] But there is little to be said for a mere temporary altar; generally its temporary nature is only too obvious; the hangings never seem quite to fit or the legs to stand firm; and when the altar is not in use it is left standing in some odd corner of the church where it is exposed to all kinds of unsuitable treatment, however unintentional. If the high altar at the east end of the chancel is too far from the people in the nave at a Parish Communion, it is presumably too far from them at other services, and should not be used in connection with a service when the congregation is in the nave. The logical outcome, therefore, of the need for setting-up a temporary nave altar for these Sunday morning services is to cease to use the chancel at all on occasions when the people are gathered in the nave, and to place a permanent

[1] In some churches this difficulty is overcome by using for early celebrations on Sundays and great festivals, as well as on week-days, an altar in a side chapel, but this involves the use of a minor altar for what is a general congregational service which should ideally be held in the central part of the building.

altar at the east end of the latter with suitable provision for the clergy and choir, but avoiding a perpetuation of the error of interposing the latter between the altar and the people. Such an altar would, in effect, become the principal, or people's, altar of the church, and would be used for all the main services when a considerable body of the faithful were gathered together; it would also



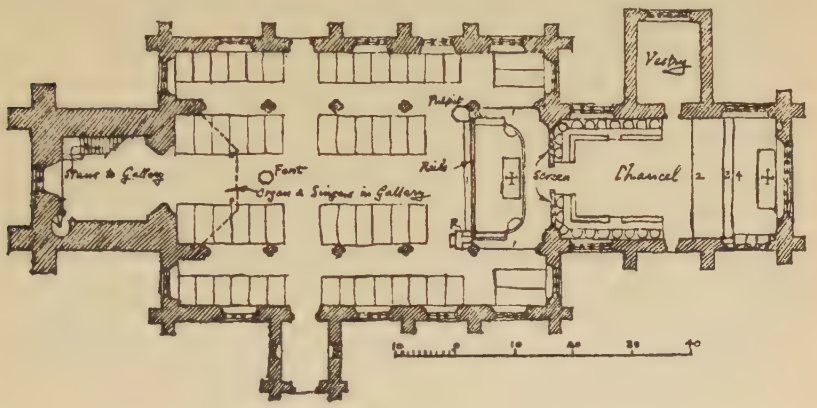
Plan 56

A Cruciform Medieval Church Rearranged. *A suggestion for the adaptation of such a building as a central or quasi-collegiate church, the chancel being designed for use mainly by the body of clergy. There is a permanent nave altar placed under the tower, with ample communicants' rails and with the pulpit and reading pew close by. The chancel screen is retained and forms a background to the nave altar. The choir and organ are in a west gallery.*

have the immense advantage in cruciform churches that those in the transepts would be able to take an equal part in the service.[1] The chancel, made more spacious by the removal of the choir boys' seats, could then be used, much in the same way as in the Middle Ages,

[1] A notable example of such a rearrangement of a cruciform medieval church is St. Peter's, Wolverhampton, which possesses a more than usually long chancel. For some years a permanent altar has been set up in the crossing, making the nave a self-contained church.

by the clergy for the week-day offices and celebrations and also by the laity (cf. Plans 56 and 57). Such a use of the chancel would be especially valuable in the case of larger churches with a staff of priests, and in 'central' churches of a quasi-collegiate character, but it would also be of service in the case of smaller village churches by providing a place for early or week-day services when only a



Plan 57

A Late Medieval Aisled Church Rearranged. *A suggestion for a quasi-collegiate arrangement, with the chancel designed to be used by the clergy and with a permanent nave altar, on either side of which are the pulpit and reading pew. The singers and organ are in a west gallery and the chancel screen is retained. The eastern ends of the nave aisles could be used as chapels.*

very few worshippers might be expected; as the majority of such churches are only heated at the week-ends, such services present a real problem of reasonable warmth, and the chancel could easily be heated by electric fires or radiators on such occasions, particularly if curtains were hung on the eastern face of the chancel arch to be drawn when required but otherwise invisible.

The chancel screen would thus, instead of dividing the people from the clergy and the altar, serve a purpose, very legitimate in Anglican ecclesiology, of separating the church into two main parts, one for week-days or lesser services on Sundays, and one for all the main services of a general congregational character. Such an

arrangement would not, of course, interfere with the provision of other side-chapels where a need existed for these. In churches with no chancel screen one might very properly be reinstated.[1] Such a screen, perhaps furnished with the traditional rood and attendant figures, and with a loft where the singers might occupy their ancient and convenient place, would form a noble background for the nave altar; and many a medieval chancel screen, now largely obscuring the high altar from the people, would perform a new and better purpose, without the loss of its traditional aspect.

Parclose screens will doubtless still serve to enclose side chapels, oratories, and other parts of the church which require some degree of seclusion, and they could be of great value in forming a kind of 'frame' for the congregational or 'auditory' portion of the building, apart from their more architectural use in giving a sense of depth to an interior, an element which is so necessary. With the available modern technique of organ building, they might well serve to support lofts for portions of an instrument without encumbering the ground floor space.

4. Some Present-day Needs

It is well known that in the Middle Ages the naves of parish churches served other purposes apart from the accommodation of the faithful at Divine Worship; in addition to the church-ales they seem to have been used in many ways as we should now use a parish hall or room. The naves of the cathedrals, of which the famous example of St. Paul's will be remembered, were doubtless in some cases similarly used. A regular feature of modern church life in some parish churches and in some cathedrals, of which the Three Choirs Festival is an example, is the use of the buildings for oratorios and concerts, and in more recent days for religious drama, and this use seems likely to spread and even to be extended to the country parishes in a simpler form. A great deal of the usefulness of a religious play or concert, it is maintained by many, depends on

[1] In 1941 a wrought-iron screen was placed in the chancel arch in the church at Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire. The church is a cruciform building, and a Laudian type of altar was placed in the crossing in front of the screen; the choir, when one is used, sitting in the front seats of the nave, and the pulpit and priest's desk being placed one on each side of the western arch of the crossing.

its being held in the church itself and not in a parish hall, which might seem the more obvious place, and it is said that the influence of the sacred building disposes men's minds to receive the message of the play or the music. But although this may be largely true, there are objections to such a use of the part of the church which is normally used for services. The temporary staging and lighting, the use of parts of the building as dressing-rooms, and the various needs of the production are disturbing factors, and may tend to discourage reverence for the church amongst the performers and helpers; and the preparations for these performances generally make it difficult for the parishioners to use the building for their private prayers during several days both before and after the performance. It may, therefore, be thought that there is a need in some parishes for a part of the church to be set aside for such activities and others of a more parochial kind, so that the part where services are held can remain undisturbed.

This is clearly impossible in the majority of existing churches, where space would be entirely lacking, apart from a few exceptional cases.[1] But in new buildings, the provision of a narthex which shall be something more than a mere vestibule, seems worth considering. The narthex is, of course, a most ancient and a very valuable element among those which go to make up what might be called a really complete church; it is completely lacking in the vast majority of our medieval churches, though some churches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries show an approximation to the idea on a small scale.[2]

In a new church, assumed for the purpose of the argument to be in plan a large auditory building, such provision could be made at the west end, and separated from the rest of the building by a solid screen, analagous to a pulpitum or organ loft.[3] This space west of the screen would form a kind of large galilee or narthex, and here a simple stage could be erected when required, or even permanently, for plays, oratorios, and concerts; these would be given in the set-

[1] St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, supplies an example where something of the kind is suggested by the arrangements at the west end, and the screen.

[2] v.s.p. 61.

[3] The crossing at what is now the west end of Carlisle Cathedral, the western bay of Downpatrick Cathedral (Plan 49), and the 'ante-chapels' of college chapels supply, perhaps, the nearest analogy to what is here suggested, though on a relatively small scale.

ting of the church, for the galilee would be regarded and treated as a part of the church and not as a parish room joined on at the west end. But these activities, and such others as parish meetings, discussions, lectures, and so on, would not disturb the part used for divine service.

The galilee would also serve another need in the life of many parishes. Many people whom the Church of England wishes to touch are unable to follow or to profit from the services of the Prayer Book, and this makes it imperative to provide, in such cases, services of a simpler nature and of a non-liturgical kind. But such services are a means to an end, a means of training people to appreciate and use the Church's real worship which is enshrined in the Book of Common Prayer. The galilee would provide a useful place for these acts of prayer and worship, which might be taken from a conveniently placed pulpit, and from it lectures and sermons could also be given. The fact that the galilee would be an integral part of the church itself would emphasize the preparatory nature of such non-liturgical services. Round it might be written relevant passages from scripture and the liturgy, including the Decalogue, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. On the top of the screen would be the organ and space for the singers and instrumentalists, so that they could be employed for services in both parts of the church, and also for plays and concerts. The screen would play its true function in Anglican ecclesiology, not dividing the clergy from the laity but dividing the church into two parts, one for unliturgical services, lectures, and sermons, and one for the services of the Prayer Book.

These proposals are put forward merely as suggestions for the solution of problems arising in certain types of parishes; there are other types of parishes with other problems, and these, no doubt, will call for solutions of a different character. If, however, the present opportunities are grasped in the spirit of the bold approach, the flexibility, and the imagination which characterized the best work of the period between the Reformation and the Oxford Movement, the next few years might see a splendid revival in the building and arranging of our churches, combining freedom and adaptability in meeting local needs with loyalty to the spirit as well as to the letter of the Prayer Book and to the classical tradition of the Church of England.

Appendix I

Martin Bucer on the Position of the Minister[1]

But because the end of all ceremonies in the Church is the effective building up of faith in Christ, and for this it is necessary that the things said and done in the sacred assemblies should be well understood by all present (1 Cor. xiv), and in such a manner that the things they are taught there from Holy Scripture should be received as God's teaching, and that the things said in prayers and thanksgivings should be said out of the faith and spirit of all present, as in the sight of God: it is sufficiently evident that it is altogether necessary that the ministers of the churches should recite these prayers, psalms and lessons, with the greatest gravity and devotion, distinctly also and with clarity, and from a position from which the things said may by all present be apprehended abundantly and to the effective establishment of faith.

And so such a place will need to be set up for the reciting of the sacred offices, and in the recitation of these offices such gravity and clarity demanded of the ministers; and for this bare words and written injunctions will not be sufficient; in order that the ministers may follow out the precepts verbally given, there must be a vigillant and stern inquisition into the fact itself.

For, that the choir should be so distantly separated from the rest of the temple, and the service (which pertains to the whole people and the clergy) be set forth in it alone, is anti-Christian. So great a separation of the choir from the rest of the temple serves to this end, that the ministers (of whatsoever faith and life they be) are yet by their order and position considered as nearer to God than lay people, and able to make God propitious to them by means of ex-

[1] *Scripta Anglicana* (Basel, 1577), p. 457.

ternal works which they reserve to themselves, though they belong to the whole people of Christ: and also because the performance of those public services in the choir alone confirms the pernicious superstition by which reading, reciting and hearing the Scriptures and prayers, without intelligence and without the understanding of faith, is thought a worship pleasing to God.

Therefore these rites, so alien from God's ordinance, seeing they involve an intolerable insult to God, ought at once and most rigorously to be corrected: otherwise the whole realm involves itself in high treason against God; for very few churches suffer from this infection still undiagnosed.

From the plans of the most ancient temples, and from the writings of the holy fathers, it is well known that among the ancients the position of the clergy was in the middle of the temples, which were usually round: and from that position divine service was so presented to the people that the things recited could be clearly heard and understood by all who were present.[1]

[1] For this translation we are indebted to the Reverend Canon E. Evans, D.D., Vicar of Hellifield, Yorkshire.

Appendix II

The Auditory Church[1]

4. As to the Situation of the Churches, I should propose they be brought as forward as possible into the larger and more open Streets, not in obscure Lanes, nor where Coaches will be much obstructed in the Passage. Nor are we, I think, too nicely to observe East and West in the Position, unless it falls out properly: Such Fronts as shall happen to lie most open in View should be adorned with Porticoes, both for Beauty and Convenience; which, together with handsome Spires, or Lanterns, rising in good Proportion above the neighbouring Houses, (of which I have given several Examples in the City of different Forms) may be of sufficient Ornament to the Town, without a great Expence for inriching the outward Walls of the Churches, in which Plainness and Duration ought principally, if not wholly, to be studied. When a Parish is divided, I suppose it may be thought sufficient, if the Mother-church has a Tower large enough for a good Ring of Bells, and the other Churches smaller Towers for two or three Bells; because great Towers, and lofty Steeples, are sometimes more than half the Charge of the Church.

5. I shall mention something of the Materials for publick Fabricks. It is true, the mighty Demand for the hasty Works of thousands of Houses at once, after the Fire of *London*, and the Frauds of those who built by the great, have so debased the Value of Materials, that good Bricks are not to be now had, without greater Prices than formerly, and indeed, if rightly made, will deserve them; but Brickmakers spoil the Earth in the mixing and hasty burning, till the Bricks will hardly bear Weight; though the Earth about *Lon-*

[1] From a letter of Sir Christopher Wren to a friend on the Act of Parliament of 1708, which provided for the erection of fifty new parish churches in London and Westminster (*Parentalia*, pp. 319–21).

don, rightly managed, will yield as good Brick as were the *Roman* Bricks, (which I have often found in the old Ruins of the City) and will endure, in our Air, beyond any Stone our Island affords; which, unless the Quarries lie near the Sea, are too dear for general Use: The best is *Portland*, or *Roch-abbey Stone*; but these are not without their faults. The next Material is the Lime; Chalk-lime is the constant Practice, which, well mixed with good Sand, is not amiss, though much worse than hard Stone-lime. The Vaulting of *St. Paul's* is a rendering as hard as Stone; it is composed of Cockle-shell-lime well beaten with Sand; the more Labour in the beating, the better and stronger the Mortar. I shall say nothing of Marble (though *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, afford good, and of beautiful Colours), but this will prove too costly for our Purpose, unless for Altar-Pieces. In Windows and Doors *Portland* Stone may be used, with good Bricks, and Stone Quoyns. As to Roofs, good Oak is certainly the best; because it will bear some Negligence: The Church-wardens Care may be defective in speedy mending Drips; they usually white-wash the Church, and set up their Names, but neglect to preserve the Roof over their Heads: It must be allowed, that the Roof being more out of Sight, is still more unminded. Next to Oak is good yellow Deal, which is a Timber of Length, and light, and makes excellent Work at first, but if neglected will speedily perish, especially if Gutters (which is a general Fault in Builders) be made to run upon the principal Rafters, the Ruin may be sudden. Our Sea-service for Oak, and the Wars in the North-sea, make Timber at present of excessive Price. I suppose 'ere long we must have Recourse to the *West-Indies*, where most excellent Timber may be had for cutting and fetching. Our Tiles are ill made, and our Slate not good; Lead is certainly the best and lightest Covering, and being of our own Growth and Manufacture, and lasting, if properly laid, for many hundred Years, is, without question, the most preferable; though I will not deny but an excellent Tile may be made to be very durable; our Artisans are not yet instructed in it, and it is not soon done to inform them.

6. The Capacity and Dimensions of the new Churches may be determined by a Calculation. It is, as I take it, pretty certain, that the Number of Inhabitants, for whom these Churches are provided, are five times as many as those in the City, who were burnt out, and

probably more than 400,000 grown Persons that should come to Church, for whom these fifty Churches are to be provided, (besides some Chapels already built, though too small to be made parochial). Now, if the Churches could hold each 2,000, it would yet be very short of the necessary Supply. The Churches therefore must be large; but still, in our reformed Religion, it should seem vain to make a *Parish-church* larger than that all who are present can both hear and see. The *Romanists*, indeed, may build larger Churches, it is enough if they hear the Murmur of the Mass, and see the Elevation of the Host, but ours are to be fitted for Auditories. I can hardly think it practicable to make a single Room so capacious, with Pews and Galleries, as to hold above 2,000 Persons, and all to hear the Service, and both to hear distinctly, and see the Preacher. I endeavoured to effect this, in building the Parish Church of *St. James's, Wesminster*, which, I presume, is the most capacious, with these Qualifications, that hath yet been built; and yet at a solemn Time, when the Church was much crowded, I could not discern from a Gallery that 2,000 were present. In this Church I mention, though very broad, and the middle Nave arched up, yet as there are no Walls of a second Order, nor Lanterns, nor Buttresses, but the whole Roof rests upon the Pillars, as do also the Galleries; I think it may be found beautiful and convenient, and as such, the cheapest of any Form I could invent.

7. Concerning the placing of the Pulpit, I shall observe—A moderate Voice may be heard 50 Feet distant before the Preacher, 30 Feet on each Side, and 20 behind the Pulpit, and not this, unless the Pronunciation be distinct and equal, without losing the Voice at the Last Word of the Sentence, which is commonly emphatical, and if obscured spoils the whole Sense. A *French* Man is heard further than an *English* Preacher, because he raises his Voice, and not sinks his last Words: I mention this as an insufferable Fault in the Pronunciation of some of our otherwise excellent Preachers; which Schoolmasters might correct in the young, as a vicious Pronunciation, and not as the *Roman* Orators spoke: For the principal Verb is in Latin usually the last Word; and if that be lost, what becomes of the Sentence?

8. By what I have said, it may be thought reasonable, that the new Church should be at least 60 Feet broad, and 90 Feet long,

besides a Chancel at one End, and the Belfrey and Portico at the other. These Proportions may be varied; but to build more room, than that every Person may conveniently hear and see, is to create Noise and Confusion. A Church should not be so fill'd with Pews, but that the poor may have room enough to stand and sit in the Alleys, for to them equally is the Gospel preached. It were to be wish'd there were to be no Pews, but Benches; but there is no stemming the Tide of Profit, and the Advantage of Pew-keepers; especially too since by Pews, in the Chapels of Ease, the Minister is chiefly supported. It is evident these fifty Churches are not enough for the present Inhabitants, and the Town will continually grow; but it is to be hoped, that hereafter more may be added, as the Wisdom of the Government shall think fit; and therefore the Parishes should be so divided, as to leave room for Sub-divisions, or at least for Chapels of Ease.

Appendix III

Reading the Liturgy[1]

The Articles are entitled:

'Articles of Enquiry, Exhibited by the Right Reverend Father in God, William, by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, to the Churchwardens and Sidemen of every Parish within his Diocese, at his Primary Visitation. With some Remarks and Observations on the Particulars.' Part of these Remarks and Observations is devoted to the subject of reading the service, and the Bishop says:

'I have often wondered, how it should come to pass, that so great a part of the Ministerial Office, as *Reading Prayers* in publick is, should take up so little of our Care and Study as it seems to do, and be so little considered by Us, which, were it well performed, would tend as much to our own, and to the edification of our Audience, as any thing we can do; which is, I dare say, the Desire and Aim of every good Clergyman. I own, that a good Voice, sweet Cadence, and a graceful manner, in reading, fall not to every Bodies share; nor are they to be acquired by Art and Study; they are rather Gifts of Nature, and improvable by Care and Observation; but many who have them, either totally neglect them, or misuse them strangely by an excess of Affectation. But they who have them not, can yet read Prayers *distinctly* and *devoutly*; in this we ask nothing but what is in every One's Power to do, with a little Care and Attention; and I am sure it is their Duty. The Minister, in the Publick Service, is, as it were, the Mouth of the Congregation. His Voice is to reach the Ears, and to direct the Hearts of all his Audience, to their proper Object, at that time; and I will venture to affirm, that much of their

[1] From the Visitation Articles issued in 1710 by Dr. William Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph (*Ritual Report*, pp. 664–5).

Devotion will depend upon the way and manner of his uttering forth his Prayers and Praises. The *Psalms*, and *Hymns*, and *Chapters*, are clearly other things, when read distinctly and devoutly, from what they are when read in haste and unattentively. Much of their Efficacy will, I know, depend upon the Temper and good Disposition that Men bring along with them to Church, on these Occasions; but still, I say the People will not fail of being more or less affected, with this Service, as it is more or less distinctly and devoutly uttered and performed by the Minister. And therefore all their Care will be well employed, in studying to do it in the best manner that is possible. To read *too loud*, is to disturb the Devotion of the Audience, and draws them only to guessing what's the matter, and what is the occasion of exerting above what is needful; Men, in great Noises, cannot think at all, but are unfixed, and in much confusion. To read *too low*, is to lose the end of Reading, which is to be heard and understood; it strains the attention too much, and when Men have long listened to little purpose, they presently give themselves up to think of other matters. To read *too fast*, is to lose one's own Attention, and to outrun all other Peoples; the Mind has not leisure to consider and dwell on what is said; the Ear does only take in Words and Sound, but nothing is communicated to the Heart; there is not time for it; and then, you may be sure there is no Devotion; for Devotion is, in this case, the Assenting of the Heart to what is heard by the Ears, and the being pleasingly moved with it. It is as if a Messenger should deliver his Errand whilst he is riding Post by you. You hear him say something, but what it is, you know not, and so it is as if he had said nothing at all. This quick dispatch of Prayers gives great Offence, in many kinds. It makes those, who dislike our *Forms*, continue on their prejudice against them; they fancy there is no Devotion in the *Speaker*, and they are sure the *Hearers* cannot edify by them, not being able to attend them duely, and go along with them in the grave manner that they should. It looks like Disrespect to the *Congregation*, as well as to the *Service* itself, to see Men hastening to an End of it, in so unseemly a manner, as if they longed to have it over, and had something better to do afterwards. The reading Prayers *too fast*, is the fault that is most generally charged upon the Clergy, and therefore I insist upon it most, in order to its being

mended, because it cannot, in truth, be done either with *Distinction*, or *Devotion*. But there is also something amiss in reading *too slow*, which is the other Extream, but which not many, in comparison, fall into. The Attention, if it is not duly fed, and entertained, is lost; when People know beforehand what you are going to say, they are impatient till it is deliver'd; and if you stay beyond your time, their Expectation becomes uneasy; they run before you in their Minds; but their Devotion is hereby disturb'd, and scattered. You may utter your *Sermons*, with what degree of Slowness and Deliberation, you shall think fit, because, not knowing what you have to say, Men will expect with Patience. But in reading *Prayers*, with which they are well acquainted, you must, generally speaking, keep that decent middle Pace to which they are mostly accustomed, or else you will be in danger of having your Audience either overrun you, or not overtake you; either of which quite spoils the end of Publick Prayer. I would not multiply Rules, and Observations of this kind; most People will do best in following *Nature* in their Voice and Utterance; consulting *Reason* in Accents and in Cadence; and Common *Custom* in the Quantities of *proper* Names, and Words that are of doubtful pronunciation. But then a Clergyman will read the Prayers best when he perceives he reads himself and his Audience, into a serious and devout Attention to the good things delivered by him.'

Appendix IV

The Ministerial Altar

The Prayer to be said by the Bishop, kneeling before the altar, in the Irish Form of Consecration of Churches (*Hierurgia Anglicana*, iii, p. 207).

O Eternal God; who in an infinite mercy to mankind, didst send thy holy Son to be a sacrifice for our sins and the food of our souls, the Author and finisher of our faith, and the great Minister of eternal glory; who also now sits at thy right hand, and upon the heavenly altar perpetually presents to thee the Eternal Sacrifice, a never ceasing prayer, be present with thy servants, and accept us in the dedication of a Ministerial altar, which we humbly have provided for the performance of this great Ministery, and in imitation of Christ's Eternal Priesthood, according to our Duty, and his Commandment. Grant that all the gifts which shall be presented on this table, may be acceptable unto thee, and become unto thy servants a savour of life unto life. Grant that all who shall partake of this table, may indeed hunger after the bread of life, and thirst for the wine of elect souls, and may feed upon Christ by faith, and be nourished by a holy hope, and grow up to an eternal charity. Let no hand of any that shall betray thee, be ever upon this table: let no impure tongue ever taste of the holy body and blood which here shall be Sacramentally represented and exhibited. But let all thy servants that come hither to receive these mysteries, come with prepar'd hearts, and with penitent souls, and loving desires, and indeed partake of the Lord Jesus, and receive all the benefits of his Passion. Grant this for his sake, who is the Priest and the Sacrifice, the feeder and the food, the Physician and the physick of our souls, our most blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus. AMEN.

Bibliography

(including articles from the proceedings of learned societies and monographs on particular churches which are of general ecclesiological interest)

Andrewes, Lancelot: *Minor Works.* (Oxford, 1854.)

Barr, James: *Anglican Church Architecture, with some remarks upon Ecclesiastical Furniture.* (Oxford, 1842.)

Beveridge, William: 'The Excellency and Usefulness of the Common Prayer', preached at the opening of the Parish Church of St. Peter's, Cornhill, the 27th of November 1681. (*Works*, Oxford, 1847, vi, pp. 367–98.)

Birch, G. H.: *London Churches of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* (London, 1896.)

'London Churches of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' in *Trans. Brist. and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, xxi, pp. 103–25.

Blomfield, Reginald: *A History of Renaissance Architecture in England 1500–1800.* (2 vols., London, 1897.)

Bloxam, M. H.: *Companion to the Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture.* (3 vols., 11th ed., London, 1882.)

Bond, Francis: *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (Oxford, 1908.)

The Chancel of English Churches. (Oxford, 1916.)

Bond, Frederick Bligh: 'Medieval Screens and Rood-Lofts', in *Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.*, v, pp. 197–220.

Bond, Frederick Bligh, and Camm, Dom Bede: *Rood Screens and Rood Lofts.* (2 vols., London, 1909.)

Bonney, H. K.: *Bonney's Church Notes, being Notes on the Churches in the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, 1845–8 by the Venerable H. K. Bonney* (*Archdeacon of Lincoln*), ed. by N. S. Harding. (Lincoln, 1937.)

Boston, Noel: 'Music of the Eighteenth Century Village Church', in *Arch. Journ.*, xcix, pp. 53–66.

Braun, Joseph: *Der Christliche Altar.* (2 vols., Munich, 1924.)

Brightman, F. E.: *The English Rite, being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer with an Introduction and an Appendix.* (2 vols., London, 1915.)

Britton, John: *Cathedral Antiquities: Historical and Descriptive Accounts of English Cathedrals.* (6 vols., London, 1836.)

Britton, J., and Pugin, A.: *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London: with Historical and Descriptive Accounts of Each Edifice.* (2 vols. with Supplement, London, 1825, 1838.)

Brock, Henry D.: *Colonial Churches in Virginia.* (Dale Press, Richmond, U.S.A., 1930.)

Bumpus, T. Francis: *Holiday Rambles among the Cathedrals and Churches of North Germany.* (London, 1903.)

Cachmaille-Day, N. F.: 'Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Present Age', in *Journal R.I.B.A.*, lx, pp. 825–38.

Cardwell, Edward: *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England.* (2 vols., Oxford, 1839.)

Synodalia. (2 vols., Oxford, 1842.)

A History of Conferences and other Proceedings connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer, from the year 1558 to the year 1690. (3rd ed. Oxford, 1849.)

Cautley, H. Munro: *Royal Arms and Commandments in Our Churches.* (Ipswich, 1934.)

Chambers, John David: *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries contrasted with and adapted to that in the Nineteenth.* (London, 1877.)

The Chapel Royal, the Old Cheque Book, or Book of Remembrance of, ed. by Edward F. Rimbault. (Camden Society, 1872.)

Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, from 1504 to 1635, ed. by J. E. Foster. (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1905.)

Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of St. Andrew, Canterbury, from A.D. *1485 to* A.D. *1625,* by Charles Cotton, in *Arch. Cant.*, xxxii, pp. 181–246; xxxiii, pp. 1–62; xxxiv, pp. 1–46; xxxv, pp. 41–108; xxxvi, pp. 81–122.

Churchwardens' Accounts of Pittington and Other Parishes in the Dio-

cese of Durham, from A.D. *1580 to 1700.* (Surtees Society, lxxxiv, 1888.)

Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow, in Shropshire, from 1540 to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, ed. by Thomas Wright. (Camden Society, 1869.)

Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Edmund and St. Thomas, Sarum, 1443–1702, ed. by H. J. F. Swayne. (Wiltshire Record Society, 1896.)

Clark, Kenneth: *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste.* (New York, 1929.)

Clarke, Basil F. L.: *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century.* (S.P.C.K., 1938.)

My Parish Church. (S.P.C.K., 1948.)

Cobb, Gerald: *The Old Churches of London.* (London, 1941–2.)

Cole, R. E. G.: 'Some Lincolnshire Faculties A.D. *1663–93*', in *A.A.S. Reports and Papers*, xxx, 1, pp. 19–45.

Comper, J. N.: 'The English Altar and its Surroundings', in *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book Practically Considered*, ed. by J. Wickham Legg. (London, 1899, pp. 41–129).

'The Reasonableness of the Ornaments Rubric, illustrated by a Comparison of the German and English Altars', in *Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.*, iv, pp. 65–97.

'Further Thoughts on the English Altar, or Practical Considerations on the Planning of a Modern Church', in *Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.*, x, pp. 29–87.

Cosin, John: *Correspondence.* (2 vols., Surtees Society, lii, lv, 1868, 1872.)

Works. (5 vols., Oxford, 1874.)

Cox, J. C.: *Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century.* (London, 1913.)

Pulpits, Lecterns and Organs in English Churches. (Oxford, 1915.)

Cox, J. C., and Harvey, Alfred: *English Church Furniture.* (London, 1907.)

Cox, J. C., and Hope, W. H. St. John: *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church or Free Chapel of All Saints, Derby.* (London, 1881.)

Crossley, F. H.: 'Cheshire Church Furniture', in *Trans. Lancs and Chesh. Ant. Soc.*, liii, pp. 83–116; liv, pp. 157–89; lv, pp. 41–80.

'Post-Reformation Church Building in Cheshire during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Journ. Chester and North Wales Architect. Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, N.S. XXXV, part i, pp. 5–48.

Curwen, J. F.: 'The Parish Church of Kendal', in *Trans. C. and W. A. and A. Soc.* (O.S. XVI, pp. 157–220.)

Day, Ernest Hermitage: *Renaissance Architecture in England.* (London, 1910.)

Day, J. G. F., and Patton, H. E.: *The Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland.* (S.P.C.K., 1932.)

Dening, C. F. W.: *The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Bristol.* (Bristol, 1923.)

Dowsing, William: *The Journal of William Dowsing, Parliamentary Visitor, for demolishing the superstitious pictures and ornaments of churches, etc., within the County of Suffolk in the years 1643–4.* New ed., with an introduction, notes, etc., by C. H. Evelyn White. (Ipswich, 1885.)

Drummond, Andrew Landale: *The Church Architecture of Protestantism.* (Edinburgh, 1934.)

'The Architectural Interest of the English Meeting House', in *Journal R.I.B.A.*, XLV, pp. 909–17.

Eastlake, C. L.: *A History of the Gothic Revival.* (London, 1872.)

Eeles, F. C.: *Traditional Ceremonial and Customs connected with the Scottish Liturgy.* (Alcuin Club Collections, XVII. London, 1910.)

Embury, Aymar, II: *Early American Churches.* (New York, 1914.)

Fallow, T. M.: *The Cathedral Churches of Ireland.* (London, 1894.)

Fenton, Richard: *Tours in Wales (1804–13)*, ed. by John Fisher. (Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1917.)

Fokker, T. H.: *Roman Baroque Art. The History of a Style.* (2 vols., Oxford, 1938.)

Forse, E. J. G.: *Ceremonial Curiosities.* (London, 1938.)

Freeman, Andrew: *Church Organs and Organ Cases* (S.P.C.K., n.d.)

Frere, W. H., ed. by: *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation.* (3 vols. Alcuin Club Collections, XIV–XVI. London, 1910.)

The Principles of Religious Ceremonial. (New ed., London, 1928.)

Galpin, F. W.: 'Old Church Bands and Village Choirs', in *Dorset Field Club*, xxvi, pp. 172–81.

Gee, Henry: *The Elizabethan Prayer Book and Ornaments*. (London, 1902.)

Gee, Henry, and Hardy, W. J.: *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*. (London, 1921.)

Gibbs, James: *A Book of Architecture, containing Designs of Building and Ornaments*. (London, 1728.)

Gill, Eric: *Sacred and Secular*. (London, 1940.)

Godwin, George: *The Churches of London: A History and Description of the Ecclesiastical Edifices of the Metropolis*. (2 vols., London, 1838.)

Granville, Denis: *Remains*. (2 vols., Surtees Society, xxxvii, xlvii, 1861, 1865.)

Hacket, John: *Scrinia Reserata: A Memorial Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams, D.D.* (London, 1693.)

Hardy, W. J.: 'Remarks on the History of Seat Reservation in Churches', in *Archaeologia*, liii, pp. 95–106.

Harvey, Alfred: 'Church Furniture and Decoration of the Renaissance Period in Bristol', in *Trans. Brist. and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, xxxii, pp. 140–64.

Heales, Alfred: *The History and Law of Church Seats, or Pews*. (2 vols., London, 1872.)

Heylin, Peter: *A Coale from the Altar*. (London, 1637.)

Antidotum Lincolniense, or An Answer to a Book Entitled, The Holy Table, Name and Thing, etc. (London, 1637.)

Cyprianus Anglicus; or, The History of the Life and Death of William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. (London, 1668.)

Hierurgia Anglicana, Documents and Extracts Illustrative of the Ceremonial of the Anglican Church after the Reformation, ed. by members of the Ecclesiological, late Cambridge Camden Society, A.D. 1848. Revised and considerably enlarged by Vernon Staley. (3 vols., London, 1902.)

Hill, A. G.: *The Organ-Cases and Organs of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. (1st series, London, 1883; 2nd series, London, 1891.)

Honeyman, H. L.: 'The Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne', in *Arch. Ael.*, 4th series. ix, pp. 96–193.

'John Bell's Plan of St. Nicholas Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne', in *Arch. Ael.*, 4th series, x, pp. 178–84.

Hooker, Richard: *Works*, arranged by John Keble, revised by R. W. Church and F. Paget. (3 vols., Oxford, 1888.)

Hooper, John: *Early Writings*. (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1843.)

Hope, A. J. B. Beresford, *Worship in the Church of England*. (London, 1874.)

Howson, J. S.: *'Before the Table'*. (London, 1875.)

Hughes, H. H., and North, H. L.: *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*. (Bangor, 1924.)

Jebb, John: *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland*. (London, 1843.)

Three Lectures on the Cathedral Service of the Church of England. (Leeds, 1845.)

Kennedy, W. P. M.: *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration. An Essay in Sociology and Politics*. (3 vols., Alcuin Club Collections, xxv–xxvii, London, 1924.)

Lancaster, Robert Alexander: *Historic Virginia Houses and Churches*. (Philadelphia, 1915.)

Laud, William: *Works*. (7 vols., Oxford, 1847.)

'The Laudian Period, Documents of', ed. by J. Armitage Robinson, in *Somerset Record Society*, xliii, pp. 177–217.

Legg, J. Wickham: 'On Some Ancient Liturgical Customs now falling into Disuse', in *Essays on Ceremonial*, by Various Authors, pp. 37–85. (London, 1904.)

English Order for Consecrating Churches. (Henry Bradshaw Society, xii, London, 1911.)

English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement. (London, 1914.)

'The Inventory of the Parish Church of Bledlow in 1783', in *Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.*, v, pp. 229–50.

Legg, J. Wickham, and Hope, W. H. St. John. transcribed and edited by: *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury with Historical and Topographical Introductions and Illustrative Documents*. (Westminster, 1902.)

Longstaffe, W. H. D.: 'The Screen and Chancel Arrangements of Darlington Church', in *Arch. Ael.*, N.S. vii, pp. 240–56.

Evidences Illustrative of the History of Religion in Newcastle and

Gateshead between the Reformation and the Revolution. (Surtees Society, 1, pp. 259–482, 1867.)

MacDermott, K. H.: 'Sussex Church Music in the Past', in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, lx. pp. 1–33.

Malcolm, J. P.: *Londinium Redivivum; or, an Antient and Modern Description of London.* (4 vols., London, 1802–7.)

Medicina Clerica, or Hints to the Clergy for the Healthful and Comfortable Discharge of their Ministerial Duties. (London, 1821.)

Miller, Bernard A.: 'Modern Church Architecture', in *C.Q.R.*, cxxii, pp. 292–303.

'Church Design', in *Art Notes*, iv, pp. 16–21.

Moleon, Sieur de: *Voyages Liturgiques de France, ou Recherches faites en Diverses Villes de Royaume.* (Paris, 1718.)

Monson, William John: *Lincolnshire Church Notes made by William John Monson, F.S.A., afterwards Sixth Lord Monson of Burton, 1828–40*, ed. by John 9th Lord Monson. (Lincoln Record Society, xxxi, Lincoln, 1936.)

Moore, R. W.: *A History of the Parish Church of Leeds.* (Leeds, 1877.)

Morris, Joan, ed. by: *Modern Sacred Art.* (London, 1938.)

Murray, R. H.: 'The Arrangement of the Chancel at Deerhurst', in *Trans. Brist. and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, xxv, pp. 285–93.

'Ancient Church Fittings', in *Trans. Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.*, xxi, pp. 10–36.

'The Evolution of Church Chancels', in *Trans. Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.*, xxxi, pp. 67–93.

Neale, J. M.: *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments.* (Cambridge, 1841.)

A Few Words to Church Builders. (Cambridge, 1841.)

The History of Pews. (3rd ed. Cambridge, 1843.)

Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement. (Cambridge, 1843.)

Neale, J. M., and Webb, Benjamin, ed. by, with an Introductory Essay and Notes: *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments. A Translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, written by William Durandus, sometime Bishop of Mende.* (London, 1893.)

Neale, J. P., and Le Keux, J.: *Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain.* (2 vols., London, 1824.)

New Churches Illustrated, published by the Incorporated Church Building Society. (London, 1936.)

A New View of London. (2 vols., London, 1708.)

Nicholson, Charles, and Spooner, Charles: *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture.* (London, n.d.)

Nicolson, William: *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlile*, ed. by R. S. Ferguson. (London, 1877.)

North, H. L.: *The Old Churches of Arllechwedd.* (Bangor, 1906.)

Oman, C. C.: 'English Brass Lecterns of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxviii, pp. 218–26.

Palmer, W. M.: *William Cole of Milton.* (Cambridge, 1935.)

Palmer, W. W.: 'Episcopal Visitation Returns, Cambridgeshire, 1638–62', in *Trans. Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc.*, iv, pp. 313–411.

Paterson, James: *Pietas Londinensis: or, The Present Ecclesiastical State of London.* (London, 1714.)

Peacock, Edward, ed. by: *English Church Furniture, Ornaments and Decorations, at the Period of the Reformation.* (London, 1866.)

Perkins, Jocelyn: *Westminster Abbey, Its Worship and Ornaments.* (2 vols. Alcuin Club Collections, xxxiii–iv, Oxford, 1938–40.)

Perry, T. W.: *Lawful Church Ornaments.* (London, 1857.)

Pocklington, John: *Altare Christianum: or, The dead Vicar's Plea.* (London, 1637.)

Pococke, Richard: *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke: successively Bishop of Meath and of Ossory during 1750, 1751, and later years*, ed. by J. J. Cartwright. (2 vols., Camden Society, 1889.)

Proctor, F., and Frere, W. H.: *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, with a Rationale of its Offices.* (London, 1901.)

Prynne, William: *A quench-Coale; or a disquisition in what place of the church or chancell the Lord's Table ought to be situated.* (n.p., 1637.)

Canterburie's Doome, or the first part of a Complete History of the Trial of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. (London, 1646.)

Pugin, A. W.: *A Treatise on Chancels and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use, and Symbolic Signification.* (London, 1851.)

A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties Observed in a Seven Weeks' Journey begun on August 11, 1634. By a Captain, a Lieutenant and an Ancient, All three of the Military Company in Norwich. Ed. with Introduction and Notes by L. G. Wickham Legg. (Stuart Series VII. London, 1904.)

A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties. Made by a Lieutenant of the Military Company in Norwich in 1635. Ed. for the Royal Historical Society by L. G. Wickham Legg. (Camden Miscellany, xvi, 1936.)

Rheinhold, H. A.: 'The "Liturgical" Church', in *Art Notes*, v, pp. 50–3.

Ridley, Nicholas: *Works.* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1841.)

Ritual, First Report of Royal Commission on. (Stationery Office, 1867.)

Ritual, Second Report of Royal Commission on. (Stationery Office, 1868.)

Roscoe, E. S.: *The Bishop of Lincoln's Case.* (London, 1891.)

Scott, George Gilbert: *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture.* (London, 1881.)

Scudamore, W. E.: *Notitia Eucharistica, A Commentary, Explanatory, Doctrinal, and Historical, on the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.* (London, 1876.)

Sergeantson, R. M.: *A History of the Church of All Saints, Northampton.* (Northampton, 1901.)

Sitwell, Sacheverell: *British Architects and Craftsmen. A Survey of Taste, Design, and Style during Three Centuries, 1600–1830.* (London, 1945.)

Smart, Peter: *A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, July 7, 1628.* (London, 1628.)

Sopwith, T.: *A Historical and Descriptive Account of All Saints' Church, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.* (Newcastle, 1826.)

Sparrow, Antony: *A Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer.* (London, 1668.)

Street, George Edmund: *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain.* (London, 1869.)

Thiers, Jean Baptiste: *Dissertations Ecclésiastiques sur Les Principaux Autels des Eglises, Les Jubés des Eglises, La Clôture du Chœur des Eglises.* (Paris, 1688.)

Thomas, David Richard: 'Montgomeryshire Screens and Rood Lofts', in *Arch., Camb.* vi, 3, pp. 85–120.

Thompson, A. Hamilton: *The Ground Plan of the English Parish Church.* (Cambridge, 1911.)

The Historical Growth of the English Parish Church. (Cambridge, 1911.)

The Cathedral Churches of England. (S.P.C.K., 1928.)

Tomlinson, J. T., Ed. or written by: *Collected Tracts on Ritual.* (2 vols., Church Association, London, n.d.)

The Torrington Diaries, containing the Tours through England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng (later fifth Viscount Torrington) between the years 1781 and 1794, ed. with an introduction by C. Bruyn Andrews. (4 vols., London, 1934–8.)

Udall, Ephraim: Τὸ πρέπον εὐχαριδτικὸν, i.e. *Communion Comelinesse.* (London, 1641.)

Vallance, Aymer: 'The History of Roods, Screens and Lofts in the East Riding', in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xxiv, pp. 109–85.

'The Pulpitum and Rood Screen in Monastic Churches', in *Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.*, vi, pp. 185–200.

English Church Screens. (London, 1936.)

Venables, E.: 'The Altar Controversy at Grantham in the Seventeenth Century', in *A.A.S. Reports and Papers*, xiii, pp. 46–61.

Walcott, M. E. C.: *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.* (London, 1872.)

Warburton, J., Whitelaw, J., and Walsh, R.: *History of the City of Dublin, from the Earliest Accounts to the present Time.* (2 vols., London, 1818.)

Webb, Benjamin: *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology, or Church Notes in Belgium, Germany, and Italy.* (London, 1848.)

Wheatly, Charles: *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer.* (Cambridge, 1858.)

Williams, Edith E.: *S. Mary Redcliffe.* (Bristol, 1931.)

Williams, John: *The Holy Table, Name and Thing, More antiently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, then that of an Altar.* Printed for the Diocese of Lincoln, 1637.

Wilson, Frederick Richard: *An Architectural Survey of the Churches in the Archdeaconry of Lindisfarne.* (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1870.)

Winkles, Henry and Benjamin: *Architectural and Picturesque Illustrations of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales.* (3 vols., London, 1836–42.)

Wren, Stephen: *Parentalia: or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens: viz. of Matthew Bishop of Ely, Christopher Dean of Windsor, etc., But chiefly of Sir Christopher Wren.* (London, 1750.)

Wren Society, vols, ix, x, xix.

Churches mentioned in the Text which still to a large extent retain their pre-Victorian arrangements (with Bibliography)

The date only indicates that both fabric and furniture are post-Reformation; where the fabric is medieval details of furniture are given.

BEDFORDSHIRE

See *Victoria County History Bedfordshire, passim.*

Hulcote, c. 1615.

Melchbourne, 1779.

BERKSHIRE

See *Victoria County History Berkshire, passim.*

Besselsleigh. Furniture, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Bucklebury. Furniture, eighteenth century.

Chaddleworth. Parlour pews, 1706, 1810.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Gayhurst, 1728.

CHESHIRE

Baddiley. Rebuilt, 1811.

Congleton, 1740–2. Castle, W. T. F: *An English Parish Church of 1740. A History and Description of Saint Peter's Congleton, Cheshire.* (Gloucester, 1933.)

Woodhey Chapel (Parish of Acton), c. 1700.

CUMBERLAND

Matterdale. Conjectural dates, 1573, 1686, 1753.

Whiteside, J.: 'Matterdale Church and School', in *Trans. C. and W. A. and A. Soc.*, N.S., i, pp. 235–55.

DERBYSHIRE

See Cox, J. C.: *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire, passim.* (4 vols., Chesterfield, 1875–9.)

Beauchief Abbey, c. 1670. Odom, W.: *Beauchief Abbey, Sheffield.* (Sheffield, 1927.)

Dale. Furniture, c. 1634 and eighteenth century.

Ward, John: 'Dale Church: Its Structural Peculiarities', in *Journ. Derb. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, xiii, pp. 174–89.

Foremark, 1662.

DEVONSHIRE

See Stabb, John: *Some Old Devon Churches, passim.* (3 vols., London, 1908–16.)

Devon Church Antiquities, passim. (London, 1909.)

Cruwys Morchard. Rebuilt, 1689–1721.

Exeter, St. Martin. Chancel furniture and seating, eighteenth century.

Holcombe Rogus. Bluet pew, Jacobean.

Molland. Furniture, eighteenth century.

Parracombe. Furniture, eighteenth century.

DORSET

Puddletown. Furniture, c. 1634.

Gover, William: *A Guide to the Ancient Church of St. Mary, Puddletown, with the Athelhampton Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene.* (Dorchester, 1908.)

Helps, Arthur: *A Guide to the Ancient Church of St. Mary's, Puddletown, with the Athelhampton Chantry, or Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene.* (Dorchester, 1938.)

Winterbourne Tomson. Furniture, 1734.

DURHAM COUNTY

See *Victoria County History Durham, passim.*

Brancepeth. Furniture, 1626–40.

Fowler, J. T.: 'A Visit to Brancepeth Church in 1863', in *Trans. A. and A. Soc. of Durham and Northumberland*, i, pp. 73–81.

Surtees, Conyers: *The History of the Church of St. Brandon at Brancepeth, Co. Durham.* (London, 1919.)

Durham City. St. Mary-le-Bow. Rebuilt, 1683.

Egglescliffe. Furniture, Restoration.

Gibside Chapel (Parish of Winlaton). Built 1760–7. Furniture, 1812.

Haughton-le-Skerne. Furniture, c. 1662.

Gouldsmith, H.: *Saint Andrew, Haughton-le-Skerne. A Brief History of the Church, the Rectors, the Parish and the Schools.* (Darlington, 1929.)

Sedgefield. Screen, c. 1638. Chancel furniture, Restoration.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Bristol. Redland Church, 1743.

Wilkins, H. J.: *Redland Chapel and Redland.* (Bristol, 1924.)

John Wesley's Chapel, Broadmead, 1748.

Deerhurst. Chancel seating, Jacobean.

Great Washbourne. Furniture, eighteenth century.

Little Washbourne (Parish of Overbury, Worcestershire). Furniture, eighteenth century.

HAMPSHIRE

See *Victoria County History Hampshire, passim.*

Avington, 1768–71.

Ellingham. Lisle pew, Jacobean. Tympanum, 1671.

Minstead. Furniture, seventeenth, eighteenth, early nineteenth century.

Wolverton, 1717.

HEREFORDSHIRE

See *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments—Herefordshire, passim.* (3 vols.)

Abbey Dore. Re-consecrated, Furniture, 1634.

Paul, R. W.: *Abbey Dore, Herefordshire.* (London, 1898.)

Sledmere, E.: *Abbey Dore, Herefordshire. Its Building and Restoration.* (Hereford, 1914.)

Richard's Castle. Furniture, eighteenth century.

St. Clodock. Furniture, c. 1700.

Astbury, H.: *Clodock A King: A Church: A Parish.* (Liverpool, 1938.)

Llewellyn, F. G.: *The History of St. Clodock, British King and Martyr. Being some account of a Welsh Borderland Church and Parish from the Sixth Century to the Present Day.* (Manchester, 1919.)

St. Margaret's. Sentences, eighteenth century

Monnington-on-Wye, 1679.

Shobdon, 1753.

Whiffen, Marcus: 'Shobdon Church, Herefordshire. An Unnoticed Example of Rococo Gothic', in *Country Life*, xciii, pp. 315–16.

Tyberton, 1720.

HERTFORDSHIRE

Hexton. Furniture, 1824.

Squires, E. E.: 'St. Faith's Church, Hexton', in *East Herts. Arch. Soc. Trans.* IV, i, pp. 43–56.

St. Paul's Walden. Chancel, 1727.

Lucas, Geoffrey: 'All Saints' Church, St. Paul's, Walden', in *East Herts. Arch. Soc. Trans.* v, pp. 225–41.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

See *Victoria County History Huntingdonshire, passim.*

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments—Huntingdonshire, passim.

Chesterton. Chancel, early eighteenth century.

Leighton Bromswold. Furniture, 1627–34.

Maling, H. B.: 'Leighton Bromswold: The Church and Lordship', in *Trans. Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc.*, ii, pp. 205–20.

Little Gidding, 1626, largely rebuilt 1714.

LANCASHIRE

See *Victoria County History Lancashire, passim.*

Cartmel Priory. Screens, stall canopies, 1618–22.

Dickinson, J. C.: *A New Guide to Cartmel Priory Church* (1945).

Stockdale, James: *Annales Caermoelenses, or, Annals of Cartmel.* (Ulverston, 1872.)

Cartmel Fell. Furniture, seventeenth century.

Curwen, John F.: 'St. Anthony's Chapel, Cartmel Fell', in *Trans. C. and W. A. and A. Soc.*, N.S. xii, pp. 285–96.

Hawkshead. Sentences, eighteenth century

Samlesbury. Singers' seat, 1720.

Sefton. Furniture, eighteenth century.

Caroe, W. D., and Gordon, E. J. A.: *Sefton. A Descriptive and Historical Account.* (London, 1893.)

LEICESTERSHIRE

See Nichols, John: *History and Antiquities of Leicestershire, passim.* (6 vols., London, 1798.)

Breedon-on-the-Hill. Furniture, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

KING'S NORTON, Leicestershire. *Built* 1760–75. *A notable example*

Lockington. Furniture, eighteenth century.

Farmer, R. Lethbridge: 'Lockington Church', in *Journ. Derb. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, xxxvii, pp. 10–18.

Stapleford, 1783.

Staunton Harold Chapel (Parish of Breedon-on-the-Hill), 1653–63.

Borough, Roland: 'The Private Chapel of the Earl Ferrers at Staunton Harold', in *Proc. Soc. Ant. of London*, 2nd series, xxvi, pp. 121–8.

'Staunton Harold, Leicestershire, the Seat of Earl Ferrers', in *Country Life*, xxxiii, pp. 490–6, 526–33.

LINCOLNSHIRE

Langton-by-Spilsby, c. 1725.

LONDON

See *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments—London*, vols. iv, v, *passim.*

ST. MARY-AT-HILL, London. *Built* 1670–6. *Although many of the*

Norman, Philip: 'The Church of St. Mary-at-Hill', in *Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.* vii, pp. 126–30.

Morden College Chapel, Blackheath, 1700.

MIDDLESEX

See *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments—Middlesex, passim.*

Harefield. Furniture, eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Cochran, H. S.: *St. Mary's, Harefield.* (Rickmansworth, 1926.)

Little Stanmore 1715–20.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Passenham. Chancel stalls, c. 1626.

Steane, 1620. Furniture, 1720, 1752.

Oswald, Arthur: 'The Chapel at Steane Park, Northamptonshire, formerly the seat of the Crewe Family', in *Country Life*, lxxxiv, pp. 12–17.

OXFORDSHIRE

Chislehampton, 1763.

Rycote Chapel. Furniture, seventeenth century.

Hussey, Christopher: 'Rycote, Oxfordshire', in *Country Life*, lxiii, pp. 16–24.

RUTLAND

See *Victoria County History Rutland, passim.*

Lyddington. Altar rails, 1635.

Teigh, 1782. Redlich, E. B.: *The History of Teigh in Rutland.* (Long Compton, Shipston-on-Stour, 1926.)

SHROPSHIRE

See Cranage, D. H. S.: *An Architectural Account of the Churches Shropshire.* (2 vols., Wellington, Shropshire, 1901–12.)

Bromfield. Painted chancel ceiling, 1672.

Halston Chapel (Parish of Whittington). Furniture, 1725.

Langley Chapel (Parish of Acton Burnell), c. 1601.

Lydbury North. Tympanum, 1615.

Stokesay. Furniture, Sentences, seventeenth century.

Wistanstow. Sentences, seventeenth century.

SOMERSET

Babington, 1750.

Hussey, Christopher: 'Babington, Somerset, the Home of Mrs. Knatchbull', in *Country Life*, xciii, pp. 704–7.

Bruton. Chancel, 1743.

Eeles, Francis: 'Bruton Church', in *Proc. Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, lxxix, 2, pp. 1–18.

Low Ham Chapel (Parish of High Ham), 1623. (See *Proc. Som. Arch. and Nat. Soc.*, lxxi, pp. xxxviii–xxxix.)

Rode Hill, 1824.

Wyke Champflower, 1624. (See *Som. and Dor. Notes and Queries*, vi, pp. 101–3.)

STAFFORDSHIRE

Ingestre, 1676. (See Wren Society, xix, pp. 57, 149–50.)

Sandon. Pew screen, 1782.

SUFFOLK

See Cautley, H. Munro: *Suffolk Churches and their Treasures, passim.* (London, 1937.)

Kedington. Furniture, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Turnbull, W. H.: 'S.S. Peter and Paul Kedington: A Notable Church in East Anglia', in *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxvi, N.S. pp. 291–317.

Withersdale. Furniture, seventeenth century.

Witnesham. Sentences, eighteenth century.

SURREY

Petersham. Furniture, 1796.

Warren, Charles D.: *History of St. Peter's Church, Petersham, Surrey.* (London, 1938.)

SUSSEX

See *Victoria County History Sussex, passim.*

Ashburnham. Rebuilt, 1665.

Warbleton. Elevated manorial pew, eighteenth century.

WESTMORLAND

See *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments—Westmorland, passim.*

Brougham, St. Ninian's, 1656–60.

Lees, Thomas: 'St. Ninian's Church, Brougham', in *Trans. C. and W.A. and A.Soc.*, o.s. iv, pp. 420–4.

St. Wilfrid. Furnished 1840's, with French and Flemish sixteenth-century woodwork.

Ravenstonedale, 1738–44. (See *Trans. C. and W. A. and A. Soc.*, N.S. ii, pp. 401–4.)

Windermere, St. Martin. Sentences, Elizabethan. (Transcribed in *Trans. C. and W. A. and A. Soc.*, O.S. xv, pp. 10–13.)

Witherslack, 1671. Refurnished, 1768.

Hodgson, E.: *A Short History of the Parish Church of St. Paul, Witherslack.* (Grange-over-Sands, 1931.)

WILTSHIRE

Inglesham. Furniture, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Knowles, W. H.: 'The Church of S. John Baptist, Inglesham, Wilts', in *Trans. Brist. and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, liii, pp. 191–205.

Mildenhall. Furniture, c. 1816.

Sherrington. Sentences, seventeenth century.

Yeatman-Biggs, W. H.: 'Wall Paintings in Sherrington Church', in *Wilts. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.*, l, pp. 63–5.

WORCESTERSHIRE

Strensham. Furniture, medieval and eighteenth century.

Wickhamford. Furniture, eighteenth century.

Great Witley, 1735. Paintings and stucco work, 1747.

Hussey, Christopher: 'Witley Court, Worcestershire', in *Country Life*, xcvii, pp. 992–5.

Worcester, St. Swithun's, 1736.

YORKSHIRE

See *Victoria County History North Riding, passim.*

McCall, H. B.: *Richmondshire Churches, passim.* (London, 1910.)

Barnoldswick, St. Mary-le-Gill. Furniture, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Burneston. Furniture, seventeenth century.

Coxwold. Chancel, 1777.

Croft. Elevated manorial pew, eighteenth century.

Ingleby Arncliffe, 1821.

Brown, William: 'Ingleby Arncliffe', in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, pp. 121–226.

Leeds, St. John the Evangelist, 1634.

Lumb, G. D.: 'St. John's Church, Leeds: The Trustees' (Feofees') Account Book, 1660–1766', in *Thoresby Society*, xxiv, pp. 379–98.

Stocks, John Ellis: 'The Church of St. John the Evangelist, New Briggate, Leeds', in *Thoresby Society*, xxiv, pp. 190–226.

Slaidburn. Furniture, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Wensley. Furniture, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Whitby. Parish Church of St. Mary. Furniture, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Austen, George: *The Parish Church, Whitby: Historical Address*, 5th ed., revised by H. P. Kendall. (Whitby, 1934.)

York, Holy Trinity Goodramgate. Furniture, eighteenth century.

Benson, George: 'Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, York: Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts, 1557–1819', in *A.A.S. Reports and Papers*, xxx, ii, pp. 641–54.

WALES

BRECKNOCKSHIRE

Patricio. Sentences, seventeenth century.

CARNARVONSHIRE

Dolwyddelan. Furniture, eighteenth century.

Gwydir Uchaf Chapel (Parish of Llanrwst), 1678.

Llanrhychwyn. Furniture, seventeenth century.

Hughes, H. Harold: 'Llanrhychwyn Church and Its Painted Windows', in *Arch. Camb.*, lxxxii, pp. 113–27.

MERIONETHSHIRE

Rug Chapel (Parish of Corwen), 1637. (See *Arch. Camb.*, lxxvi, pp. 369–70, 423–5; xc, pp. 343–4; xci, pp. 132–3.)

RADNORSHIRE

Disserth. Furniture, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Llanfihangel Helygen. Furniture, eighteenth century.

NORTHERN IRELAND

CO. ANTRIM

Ballinderry, Middle Church, 1664.

Bigger, Francis Joseph, and Fennell, William J.: 'The Middle Church of Ballinderry and Bishop Jeremy Taylor', in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, iii, pp. 13–22.

Downpatrick, Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity. Rebuilt, 1790–1818.

Parkinson, Edward: *Historical Sketch of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity of Down (Downpatrick)*. (Downpatrick, 1904.)

IRISH FREE STATE

CO. CORK

Rahan, 1796.

CO. DUBLIN

Dublin City, St. Catherine's, 1769.

St. George's, Free Church, consecrated 1828.

St. Mary's, 1697.

Rotunda Hospital Chapel, 1757.

Curran, C. P.: *The Rotunda Hospital: Its Architects and Craftsmen*. (Dublin, 1945.)

Kirkpatrick, T. P. C., and Jellett, H.: *The Book of the Rotunda Hospital*. (London, 1913.)

St. Werburgh's, 1719. Furniture, 1759.

Hughes, S. C.: *The Church of St. Werburgh, Dublin*. (Dublin, 1889.)

CO. LEIX

Timogue. Early nineteenth century.

CO. LONGFORD

Clongish, 1684. Furniture, early nineteenth century.

CO. LOUTH

Ballymakenny, c. 1785.

Drogheda, St. Peter's, 1749–52.

CO. MAYO
Killala, Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, 1670.

CO. SLIGO
Achonry, Cathedral Church of St. Crumnathy, 1823.

CO. TIPPERARY
Holycross, 1821.

CO. WATERFORD
Waterford City, St. Olaf's, 1733–4.

CO. WEST MEATH
Kilbixy, 1798.

CO. WICKLOW
Glenealy, 1783.

INDEX

[References to page numbers in *italic* numerals indicate a Footnote, Plan or Illustration.]

Aaron, pictures, statues, of in churches, *see* Reredos
Abbey Dore, Herefordshire, 48, *104*, *106*, *129*, 268
Abbott, George, Abp. of Canterbury, 118, 123
Abel, John, 48, *131*
Achonry, Cathedral, *199*, 276
Advertisements of Abp. Parker (1566), 31
Aldbourne, Wilts, 142
Alstonfield, Staffs., *88*
Altar, 16–19, 25–29, 32–4, *53*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *63*, *66*, 76–7, 84, 87, 88–9, 108–202 *passim*, 211, 214, 218, 221, 223
  Anglican conception of, 133, 134, 226 *et seq.*
  Baroque, 141, 200
  Books, specially bound for, 171, 172, 226
  Candlesticks on, 137, 147, 168, 169, 170, 173, 212, 226
  Canopy over, *155–6*
  'Carpet,' *see* Frontal
  Ceiling over, specially decorated, 139–140, *155–6*
  Covering of, *see* Frontal *and* Fair Linen Cloth
  'Daedalus,' 136
  Dramatic, 200 *et seq.*
  Frontal, 33, 110, 147, 167–8, *183*, 189, 204, 227, 228
  Laudian, 139 *et seq.*
  Laudian Diviners, teaching of, on, 120 *et seq.*, 136 *et seq.*
  'Ministerial,' 200 *et seq.*, 228–9, 254
  Movable, 27, 28, 34, *135–6*
  Mysterious, 200 *et seq.*, 229
  Pavement round, 146, *156*
  Position of, under Edward VI, 26, 27, 28; under Elizabeth, 32, 34, 109; under Charles I, 126, 127, 129, 133, 138, 140, 142, 144, 145; after 1662, 148, 151, 153; Victorian, 207; present day, 232; in nave, 237 *et seq.*
  Rails, *see* Communion Rails
  Removal of, 25, 26, 33
  Reverence to, 139, 140
  Screen behind, 151
  Set Altarwise, 28, 29, 32, 121, 126
  Set Tablewise, 28, 29, 32, *112*, 116, 117. *See also under* Stone Altars
Altar Prayers, 69, 70, 72–4, 84, 88, 125–6, 174–5, 211, 220

Altarnon, Cornwall, *228*
Altars, Destruction of, *25*, *26*
Ambo, 82–4, 195, 233
'Anglican Ambo,' *see* Three-Storeyed Pulpit, Reading Desk
Andrewes, Lancelot, Bp. of Winchester, *38*, 111, 112, 140, *236*
Ante-communion, *see* Altar Prayers
Appleby, St. Michael, 150–1
Arlesey, Beds., *96*
Armagh, Cathedral, *166*
Ashbourne, Derbyshire, 96–7
Ashburnham, Sussex, *39*, *161*, 272
Astbury, Cheshire, *67*
Auch, Cathedral, *160*, *180*
Auckland Castle, Chapel, 157, *172*
Auditory Churches, *52*, *54*, *59*, *60*
Communion and Office parts in, *58*
Limitation of size of, *54*, *55*, 232
Narthex in, *51*
Pulpit, position of, in 76–7, 179, 183
Reading desk, position of, in, 76–7, 179, 183
Avington, Hants., *59*, *78*, 268

Babington, Somerset, *180*, 271
Baddiley, Cheshire, *45*, *104*, *266*
Bakewell, Robert, *39*, *50*
Ballinderry, Co. Antrim, Middle Church, *60–1*, *275*
Ballymakenny, Co. Louth, *59*, *60*, *162*, 275
Bancroft, Richard, Abp. of Canterbury, *82*, 117
Baptism, *23–4*, *64 et seq.*, 43, 48, 185. *See also* Font
Baptistry, *66*. *See also* Font
Barcelona, Cathedral, 19, *234*
Sta Maria del Pino, 19
Barham, Hunts, *88*
Barnes, Richard, Bp. of Durham, 110
Barnoldswick, Yorks, St. Mary-le-Gill, *61*, *95*, 273
Bassenthwaite, Cumberland, *178*
Beauchief Abbey, Derbyshire, *80*, *180*, *181*
Beckington, Somerset, 129, *132*
Beddgelert, Carnarvonshire, *176*
Belief, table of, on nave wall, *104*, 244; as reredos, 158–60, 173; on tympanum, *35*, 104
Bellingham, Northumberland, *80*, *177*
Belucci, Antonio, *104*
Berrow, Somerset, *100*
Besselsleigh, Berks, *61*, *236*, *266*
Bettws-Newydd, Mon., 234–5
Beveridge, William, Bp. of St. Asaph, 41, *83*, 218
Beverley, Minster, *42–3*, *166*
St. Mary, *166*
Billingham, Co. Durham, *67*
Bingham, Joseph, 82–3
Bishopwearmouth, St. Michael and All Angels, 124
Blackburn, St. Gabriel, *234*
Bledlow, Bucks., *72*, *171*
Blomfield, Charles James, Bp. of London, *219*
Bolam, Northumberland, *149*, 151
Bonney, Henry Kaye, Adn. of Lincoln, *79*
Borromeo, St. Carlo, Cardinal, Abp. of Milan, *82*, *121–2*
Bournemouth, St. Francis of Assisi, *234*
Bradford, R.C. Church of the First Martyrs, *153*
Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire, *53*
Brancepeth, Co. Durham, *41*, *67*, 71, *115*, 124, *139*, 267
Branscombe, Devon, *151*
Brecon, Cathedral, *113*
Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leics., *96*, 270
Brent, Sir Nathaniel, 128
Bridgeman, John, Bp. of Chester, *139*
Brighton, St. Wilfrid, *228*
Brill, Bucks, *132*
Bristol, Cathedral, 161
All Saints, *132*
Christ Church, *163*, 172–3
John Wesley's Chapel, Broadmead, *189*, 268

Redland Church, *66*, *165*, 268
St. Mary-le-Port, *126*
St. Mary Redcliffe, 40, 68, 72, *156*, 158
St. Nicholas, *40*
St. Thomas, *40*
Temple, *40*
Bromfield, Salop, *104*, *156*, 271
Brough, Westmorland, *see* Burgh-under-Stanemore
Brougham, Westmorland, St. Ninian, *47*, *48–9*, *75*, *158*, 272
St. Wilfrid, *193*, *195*, 273
Bruton, Somerset, *156*, *158*, 272
Bubwith, Yorks, 51
Bucer, Martin, *22–3*, *36*, *245–6*
Buckland Monachorum, Devon, *132*
Bucklebury, Berks, *98*, *266*
Bull, George, Bp. of St. David's, 168
Burgh-by-Sands, Cumberland, 150–1
Burgh-under-Stanemore, Westmorland, 150–1
Burgos, San Esteban, 20–1, *195*
Burnage, Lancs, St. Nicholas, *234*
Burneston, Yorks, *44*, *45*, *88*, 273

Cambridge, Peterhouse College Chapel, 170
St. Sepulchre, 125
Cambridge Camden Society, 22, 203 *et seq.*, 225
Candlesticks, *see* Altar
Canons of 1604, 64, 109, 123, 127, *135–6*, 148, 158, 168, 180
Canterbury, Cathedral, 17, *32*, *168*, 172
St. Andrew, 111
Capel-y-Fin, Brecknockshire, *235*
Carlingford, Co. Louth, *166*
Carlisle, Cathedral, *80*, *243*
St. Cuthbert, 77
Carshalton, Surrey, Good Shepherd, *234*
Cartmel, Lancs, *38–9*, 113, 269
Cartmel Fell, Lancs, *58*, *61*, *78*, *96*, *104*, 270
Cashel, Cathedral, *197*, 210
Castle Cary, Somerset, *98*
Cathedral Service, 219 *et seq.*
Celebrations, weekly, 69, 177
Chairs near Altar, 167, *193*
Chaddleworth, Berks, *96*, 266
Chancel (of Parish Churches), 16–18, 24, 25, 27, 32, 34, 43, 45, 47, 52, 63, 112–17, 136, 141–2, 150–5, 178, 205–7, 208, 220–1
Choir in, 211 *et seq.*
length of, 16, 17
retained, 30
modern use of, 240–1
Chancel Screen, 16, 17, 19, 30, 37–41, 45, 48, 50, 53
Bp. Beveridge on, 41
destruction of, in eighteenth century, 51; in nineteenth century, 37
post-Reformation building of, 37 *et seq.*
purpose of, 40 *et seq.*
removal of Loft from, 30
retained under Royal Order (1561), 30–1
used as reredos for Nave Altar, 242
Wren's dislike of, 50, 53–4. *See also* Pulpitum
Chantrell, R. D., 211
Chapel Royal, 111, 117, 126, 137, 140, 143, *172*
Chapel-wise arrangement of Churches, 191–5, 233
Charles I, King of England, *96*, *117*, *121*, 122–3, 127, 137, 171, *172*
Chester, St. Oswald, *113*
Chesterton, Hunts, *41*, 269
Chichester, Cathedral, *161*
Childrey, Berks, *234*
Chislehampton, Oxon, 60, *61*, 67, *93*, *158*, 271
Choir, Cathedral, 16, 42, 141, 214–17. *See also* Singers, Surpliced Choir
Christ Church, Lancaster, Co. Virginia, 62

Christening Pew, *67*
Ciborium, *56*
Cléry, Notre-Dame, *169*
Clogher, Cathedral, *197*
Clongish, Co. Longford, *189*, *275*
Club, dining, *93–4*
Clynnog Fawr, Carnarvonshire, 71, *99*
College Chapel-wise seating, *see* Chapel-wise arrangement of churches
Collon, Co. Louth, *196*
Commandments, table of, *see* Decalogue
Communicants, movement into Chancel at Offertory, *24*, *28*, 112, *175–9*
  drawing near to altar, *32*, *112*, 175, 177, 211, 213
  receiving Communion in pews, 119–20; in seats in the Chancel, 113–15, 153–4; at altar rails, 122–4, 128, 132
  special seats for, in chancel, 113–15, *175–6*
Communion rails, 118, 121, 122, 128, *128*, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 162, 164, 165, 228
  wrought iron, 162, 173
Comper, J. N., *215–16*
Concerts in church, 242 *et seq.*
Congleton, Cheshire, *66*, 77, *158*, *266*
Congregational services, 229, 230
Conrad, Prior of Canterbury, 17
Copes, *32*, 137
Cork, Cathedral, *197*
Coro, in Spanish Churches, 19, 20
Corsley, Wilts, *90*
Corwen, Merionethshire, 175
Cosin, John, Bp. of Durham, 22, *38*, *42*, *65*, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, *113*, 124, *139*, 150, *154*, 167
Counter-Reformation, 223
Coventry, Holy Trinity, 210–11
Coxwold, Yorks, *75*, *163*, *273*
Cramillion, Bartholomew, 187–9
Crayford, Kent, 123
Creed, *see* Belief
Croft, Yorks, *96*, *273*
Crowcombe, Somerset, *39*
Cruwys Morchard, Devonshire, *39*, *267*
Cuddesdon, Oxon, *242*
Cundall, Yorks, *84*
Cushions, altar, 110, 111, 147, 168
  pulpit, 79, 97

Dairsie, Fife, *39*
Dale, Derbyshire, *166*, *188*, *189*, *267*
Darlington, Parish Church, *67*
Daubeny, Charles, Adn. of Salisbury, *155*
Davenant, John, Bp. of Salisbury, *118*, 142
Deane, Hants, *36*
Decalogue, table of, *35*; on nave wall, *104*, 244; as reredos, *35*, 158–60, 173; on tympanum, 103
Deerhurst, Glos, *51*, *115*, *268*
De Moleon, 151–3, *167*, *168*
Dennington, Suffolk, 141, *234*
Deptford, St. Nicholas, *161*
Derby, Cathedral, *39*, 49, *50*, *166*
Dering, Heneage, Dean of Ripon, *51*
De Vert, Dom Claude, *113*, *169*
Dijon, St. Etienne, 151
Disserth, Radnorshire, *58*, *61*, 274
Dolwyddelan, Carnarvonshire, *100*, *180*, 274
Doom, *see* Last Judgement
Dossal, *see* Reredos
Dover, St. Mary, *84*
Downes, Robert, Bp. of Raphoe, 187
Downpatrick, Cathedral, *198*, *199*, *243*, *275*
Dowsing, William, 160–1
Dresden, Frauenkirche, 181
Drogheda, St. Peter, *157*, *275*
Dromiskin, Co. Louth, *66*
Dromore, Cathedral, 197

Dublin, Christ Church Cathedral, *170, 201*
Rotunda Hospital Chapel, *162*, 186–8, 275
St. Patrick's Cathedral, 114, *170*
St. Andrew, *62*, *171*, *184*
St. Catherine, *163*, 275
St. George, 184, *187*, 275
St. George, Free Church of, *184*, 275
St. Mary, *156*, 275
St. Werburgh, *159*, *191*, 275
Dundalk, Co. Louth, *166*
Duppa, Brian, Bp. of Chichester, *38*, *128*
Durham City, Cathedral, *65*, 67, *72*, *121*, 124, *170*, 171, 214–15
St. Giles, *72*
St. Mary-le-Bow, *165*, 268
St. Nicholas, *72*
St. Oswald, *72*, *234*

Eagle, *see* Lectern
East Brent, Somerset, *100*
East Hagbourne, Berks, *104*
Eaton Socon, Beds, 99
Edenhall, Cumberland, 155
Edmonton, Parish Church, 128
Egglescliffe, Co. Durham, *88*, *99*, *175–6*, 268
Elizabeth, Queen of England, *34*, *35*, 101, *104*, 109, 116, 117, 118
Elizabethan Settlement, 80 *et seq.*, *36*, 108
Ellingham, Hants, *96*, *104*, 268
Elsdon, Northumberland, *89*, *165*
Eltham, St. Saviour, *234*
Ely, Cathedral, *170*, 214–15
Embrun, Cathedral, *180*
Ermington, Devon, *132*
Ernulf, Prior of Canterbury, Bp. of Rochester, 17
Eucharist, *see* Holy Communion
Evening Prayer, 24, 29, 31, 32, 43, 45, 48, 58, 64, 70, 88, 181, 208, 218, *224*
Evensong, *see* Evening Prayer
Exeter, Cathedral, *72*, 80, *159*, *161*, *170*
St. Martin, *176*, 267

Fabre, Jayme, 19
Fair linen cloth, *33*, 110, *152*, 168
Fenton, Richard, 46
Ferryside, Carmarthenshire, St. Ishmael, *93*
Fleetwood, William, Bp of St. Asaph, 74, 251–4
Florence, Cathedral, *43*
Folkingham, Lincs, 99
Font, 24, *45*, 48, *58*, *63*, 64–8, 180–1, 185–6, 190, 204
cover, 66–8
rails, 67
Footpace, 227
Foremark, Derbyshire, *48*, *49*, *78*, *162*, *166*, *176*, 267
Frontal, *see under* Altar
Furttembach, Joseph, 181
Fust, Sir Herbert Jenner, 135–6

Gainsborough, Lincs, 167
Galilee, suggested, 243–4
Galleries, *53*, 224
West, 98–100, 197–8
use of, by singers, 98–100
modern use of, 244
Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Kirkcudbright, *186*
Gayhurst, Bucks, *52*, *266*
Gerona, Cathedral, 19
Gibbons, Grinling, *38*, *49*, *56*, 160
Gibbs, James, *49*, *50*, *153*
Gibside Chapel, Co. Durham, *76*, *151*, *152*, 189, 268
Gislingham, Suffolk, *78*
Glenealy, Co. Wicklow, *191*, 276
Gloucester, Cathedral, *42*, 121, *238*
Grantham, 124–6, 130
Granville, Dennis, Dean of Durham, 71, 176–7
Grasmere, Westmorland, 106
Great Offley, Berks, *163*
Great Washbourne, Glos, *66*, 268
Great Witley, Worcs, *104*, 273

Greystock, Cumberland, *151*
Grindall, Edmund, Abp. of York, of Canterbury, *73*
Gunby-by-Burgh, Lincs, *80*
Gunning, Peter, Bp. of Ely, 160
Gwydir Uchaf Chapel, Carnarvonshire, *196*, 274

Hacket, John, Bp. of Lichfield, *49*, *150*, 160
Hailes, Glos, *112*, *114*
Halston Chapel, Salop, *67*, *75*, *161*, *192*, 271
Hampstead Garden Suburb, St. Jude-on-the-Hill, *236*
Harefield, Middlesex, *45*, *75*, *163*, 271
Harsnet, Samuel, Bp. of Norwich, *84*
Hartland, Devon, *100*
Haughton-le-Skerne, Co. Durham, *76*, *92*, *155*, 268
Hawkshead, Lancs, *106*, 270
Hawkshurst, Kent, *118*
Herbert, George, 51, *56*, 78, *79*
Herring, Thomas, Abp. of York, of Canterbury, 177
Hexton, Herts, *45* ,*46*, 269
Heylin, Peter, 133, 137, 145, 148, 200
High Service, 73
High Wycombe, Bucks, *96*
Hogarth, William, 158
Holbeach, St. Mark, Lincs, *161*
Holcombe Rogus, Devon, *95*, 267
Hollingbourne, Kent, *147*
Holy Communion, 25–9, 43, 45, 58, 69–70, 88, 111–15, 117, 122–3, 125–6, 130, 140, 145–6, 168, 174–7, 183, 186, 207, 218, 220. *See also* Altar Prayers, Communicants, 'North End,' Position of Celebrant
Holycross, Co. Tipperary, *189*, 276
Hook, Walter Farquhar, Vicar of Leeds, 176, 203, 210 *et seq.*
Hooker, Richard, 40, 218
Hooper, John, Bp. of Gloucester and Worcester, 22, *24*, *25*, 29, 40
Houghton-le-Spring, Co. Durham, *72*
Houseling Cloths, 115, 146, *162*
Howson, John, Bp. of Oxford, *73*
Hubberholme, Yorks, *235*
Huesca, San Pedro el Viejo, 20
Hylcote, Beds, *52*, *139*, *266*
Hull, Holy Trinity, *166*, 177

Ingestre, Staffs, 21, *41*, *49*, 272
Ingleby Arncliffe, Yorks, *52*, 273
Inglesham, Wilts, *45*, 273
Ireby, Cumberland, 151

Jebb, John, Bp. of Limerick, 203, 210
Jebb, Dr. John, 203, 210 *et seq.*
John Inglesant, 137
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 74
Johnston, Francis, *59*, *184*, *187*
Jones, Inigo, 42, *52*
Juxon, William, Bp. of London, Abp. of Canterbury, *38*, *128–9*

Kedington, Suffolk, *45*, *75*, 77, 80, *93*, *96*, *98*, *156*, *162–3*, 272
Kendal, Westmorland, 105–6
Kenton, Middlesex, St. Mary-the-Virgin, *234*
Kilbixy, Co. West Meath, *76*, *192*, 276
Kildare, Cathedral, 197
Killala, Cathedral, *199*, 276
King's Norton, Leics, *59*, *60*, *67*, *77*, *156*, 270
Kirk Merrington, Co. Durham, *165*
Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincs, *156*
Knox, Alexander, 210

Laguerre, Louis, *104*
Lamplugh, Thomas, Abp. of York, *167*, *172*
Langley Chapel, Salop, *52*, 78, *99*, *111*, *113*, 271

Langton-by-Spilsby, Lincs, *193*, 270
Last Judgement, 16, 30
Laud, William, Abp. of Canterbury, 48, 108, 114, *118*, 127–8, 129, 130, 135, 136, 140, 202
Le Brun des Marettes, *see* De Moleon
Lectern, 72, 81, 208, 212
Leeds, Parish Church, 175–6, 211–13, 217–19, 221
Epiphany, Gipton, *234*
St. John the Evangelist, 47, *114* 274
Leicester, St. Martin, *126*, 130
Leighton Bromswold, Hunts, 51, 76, 78, *79*, *88*, *269*
Le Mans, Cathedral, 169
Leominster, *161*
Lichfield, Cathedral, *170*, *215*
Lincoln, Cathedral, 16, 72, *238*
Litany Desk, 72, 208, 212
Liturgy, Vernacular, 15, 22, 54
Little Barningham, Norfolk, *93*
Little Gidding, Hunts, *52*, *72*, *139*, *145*, *269*
Little Stanmore, Middlesex, 67, 104, 271
Little Washbourne, Glos, *45*, *166*, *268*
Liverpool, St. Columba, Anfield, *234*
St. Monica, Bootle (R.C.), *234*
Llandegai, Carnarvonshire, *121*
Llandewi Brefi, Cardiganshire, *176*
Llanerfyl, Montgomeryshire, *51*
Llangfalan, Carnarvonshire, *125*
Llanfair Clydogan, Cardiganshire, *176*
Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Denbigshire, *44*
Llanfihangel Helygen, Radnorshire, *44*, 274
Llanfyllin, Montgomeryshire, 67
Llangelynin, Carnarvonshire, *180*
Llangybi, Carnarvonshire, *125*
Llanharmon, Carnarvonshire, *125*
Llanllyfni, Carnarvonshire, *125*
Llanrhychwyn, Carnarvonshire, *45*, 274
Llansilin, Denbighshire, *125*
Llantrisant, Anglesey, *125*
Lockington, Leics, *45*, *75*, *96*, *104*, 270
London, St. Paul's Cathedral, *26*, 28, 29, *42*, *56*, 91, *160*, *172*, *197*, 214–15
All Hallows, Barking, *122*, *162*, *170*
All Hallows, Lombard Street, *171*
All Hallows, Thames Street, 50, *160*
All Souls, Langham Place, *183*
Chelsea Hospital Chapel, *61*, *156*, *170*
Christchurch, Spitalfields, 49
St. Andrew, Holborn, 67, *158*
St. Bartholomew, Broad Street Ward, *169*
St. Bartholomew-the-Less, *183*
St. Benedict, Gracechurch Street, *157*, *170*
St. Botolph, Aldersgate Street, *170*
St. Catherine Cree, 48
St. Clement Danes, *169*, *171*
St. Dunstan-in-the-West, *163*
St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street, 67
St. Ethelburga, Bishopgate, *171*
St. George, Hanover Square, *66*
St. Giles, Cripplegate, *118*, 122
St. Gregory-by-St. Paul, 127, 150
St. James, Piccadilly, *55*, *56*, 67, 160, *162*
St. Katharine's Hospital, 87
St. Margaret, Lothbury, *50*, 67
St. Margaret Pattens, *92*
St. Martin-in-the-Fields, *64*, *163*
St. Mary Abchurch, 58
St. Mary Aldermanbury, *156*
St. Mary-at-Hill, *56*, *57*, *76*, 270
St. Mary-le-Bone, *63*, *100*
St. Mary-le-Bow, *171*
St. Mary Woolnoth, 49–50

St. Michael, Paternoster Royal, *160*
St. Paul, Covent Garden, *52–3*
St. Pancras, *63*
St. Peter, Cornhill, 41, 48, 50
St. Philip's Chapel, Regent Street, *182*, 183
St. Sepulchre, Holborn, *243*
Londonderry, Cathedral, 197
Lord's Prayer, table of, on nave wall, *104*, 244; as reredos, 158–60, 173; on tympanum, *35*, 104
Loughborough, Leics, *166*
Low Ham, Somerset, 113, 272
Lucy, William, Bp. of St. David's, *154*
Ludlow, *18*, *26*, 28, *35*, *111*
Ludwig II, King of Bavaria, 191
Luton, Parish Church, *68*
Lydbury North, Salop, *104*, 271
Lyddington, Rutland, *129*, *132*, 271
Lydiard Tregoze, Wilts, *162*
Lyons, Cathedral, 152–3, 169

Madley, Herefordshire, *96*
Mallwydi, Merionethshire, *151*
Manresa, Collegiata, 19
Mansfieldtown, Co. Louth, *66*
Marble Pavements, 146, 156
March, St. Wendreda, *180*
Mats for Communicants, 113, 123
Matterdale, Cumberland, *99*, *266*
Mattins, *see* Morning Prayer
Meade, William, Bp. of Virginia, 62
Medina del Campo, San Antholin, 20, *21*
Melchbourne, Beds, *52*, *266*
Messing, Essex, *115*, *156*
Middleham, Yorks, 99
Middleton, Marmaduke, Bp. of St. David's, 109
Mildenhall, Suffolk, 180
Mildenhall, Wilts, *76*, 273
Mill Hill, John Keble Church, *234*
Milles, Thomas, Bp. of Waterford and Lismore, *166*
Minstead, Hants, *66*, *96*, *268*
Molland, Devon, 41, *45*, *81*, 267
Monk Silverton, Somerset, *71*
Monnington-on-Wye, Herefordshire, *49*, *78*, *88*, *269*
Montague, Richard, Bp. of Norwich, 38, 64, 69–70, 84, *122*, *129*, 130
Montpellier, Cathedral, *100*
Morden College Chapel, Blackheath, *180*, 270
Morning Prayer, 22, 29, 31, 32, 43, 45, 48, 58, 64, 69, 70, 84, 88, 181, 208, 218, 220, *224*
Morning Prayer Chapel, 43, *91*, *185*
Moses, Pictures, statues of, in churches, *see* Reredos
Moulton, Lincs, 154–5, *161*
Much Wenlock, Salop, *116*

Narthex, 61, 243, 244
Nave, 32, 43, 45, 47, *52*, 84, 100
decoration of, 101 *et seq.*
in Cathedrals, 18, 42
in Franciscan Churches, 18–19, *63*
Neale, D. J. M., 97, *106*, *132*, 204 *et seq.*
Neile, Richard, Abp. of York, 47
Newcastle-on-Tyne, Cathedral, *68*, *91*, *100*, *170*
All Saints, *62*, 68, 93, *104*, 183, 185
St. Andrew, *68*
Nelson, Robert, *168*
Newtown Mount Kennedy, Co. Wicklow, *29–30*
Nevers, Cathedral, 169
Nicholl, Sir John, *73*
Nicholls, William, 155
Nicolson, William, Bp. of Carlisle, Abp. of Cashel, 150–1, 155, 178, *179*
Nidda, Upper Hesse, 181
'North End' Position of Celebrant, 28–9, 32, 113, 166

Northampton, All Saints, *92*, 141
Northorpe, Lincs, *96*
North Stoneham, Hants, *234*
North Walsham, St. Nicholas, *67*
Norwich, St. Michael Coslany, *122*

Offices, place for saying, 24, *43–5*, 240–1
Orford, Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of, *52*, *63*, 189
Organ, 98, 217, 221, 224, 234, *236–7*
  loft, *see* Pulpitum
  screen, *see* Pulpitum
Ornaments of Altar, 110–11, 168 *et seq.*, *225*
Otley, Suffolk, 161
Overall, John, Bp. of Norwich, *70*, *118*
Oxford, Christ Church, *72*, *122*
  Magdalen College Chapel, *144*, *155*
  St. Mary-the-Virgin, *100*
Ozleworth, Glos, *125*

Pamplona, San Saturnino, 21, *230*
Parclose Screens, 17, 18, 19, *25*, 242
Paris, St. Germain-des-Prés, 151–2
Parker, Matthew, Abp. of Canterbury, *35*
Parkhurst, John, Bp. of Norwich, 31–2
Parracombe, Devon, *45*, *75*, *104*, *105*, 267
'Partition' for Screen, 31
Passenham, Northants, *115*, 271
Paternoster, *see* Lord's Prayer
Patricio, Brecknockshire, *104*, *106*, *234–5*, 274
Patrington, Yorks, 99
Paty, William, 172–3
Payne, James, *152*, 189
Pearson, John, Bp. of Chester, *150*
Pembridge, Herefordshire, *104*
Penkridge, Staffs, *40*
Penmachno, Carnarvonshire, *159*
Penrith, Cumberland, 178
Peterborough, Cathedral, *42*
Petersham, Surrey, *80*, *88*, *159*, 272
Pew, *52*, 58, 86–99, 120, 178
  Canopied, *96*, 178
  Children's, *93*
  Christening, *67*
  Churching, 84–*6*, *94*
  Churchwardens', *92*
  Club, *93*
  Corporation, *92*
  Family, *95–7*, 190
  Flying, *51*
  furniture of, *95–7*
  high, 86–8, 120, 207, 210
  Judge's, *92*
  Manorial, *94–7*
  Penitent's, *92*
  Parlour, *96*
  Reading, *see* Reading Desk
  Singers', *see under* Singers
  Speaker's, *80*
Pictures, use of, in Churches, *104*, 158, *159*, 161
Piers, William, Bp. of Bath and Wells, 133, 137
Plan, influence of Mediaeval, *62–3*
Plays in Church, 242 *et seq.*
Plemstall, Cheshire, *92*
Pocklington, John, 133, 138–9, 200
Pococke, Richard, Bp. of Meath, of Ossory, 71, 174–*5*
Port-Royal, 152
Prayer Book, 1549, *22*, *24*, *26*, 28, 112
  1552, 28, 29, 32
  1559, 30, 31, 32–3, 112, 143
  1662, *65*, 85, 148–50, 152, 155 *et passim*.
  Irish, *201*
  Latin, 32
  See also under separate services
Prestbury, Cheshire, *31*, *104*
Preston, Suffolk, *36*
Prynne, William, *117*, 124, 133, *139*, 142, 145, *154*, 182–3
Psalm Board, 80
Puddletown, Dorset, *106*, 170, 267
Pugin, A. W. N., 37, 118, 215

Pulpit, 24, 31–2, 48, *56*, 58, 68 *et seq.*, 88, 144, 177, 179–200, 204
three-storeyed, *56*, 60, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 88, 99, 179–200, 207, 233
Pulpitum, 42, 198, 214, 238
Pusey, Dr. E. B., 194

Rahan, Co. Cork, *166*, *189*
Rails, *see under* Communion Rails, Font
Raphoe, Cathedral, 80
Ravello, Cathedral, *189*
Ravenstonedale, Westmorland, 80, *104*, 151, *161*, 192–3, *194*, 273
Reading Desk, 32, 48, *56*, 58, 68, 69, 71, 76, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 88, 112, 127, 144, 177, 179–200, 204, 207, 211
English Ambo, 82–4, 233
See also Pulpit
Reading Pew, *see* Reading Desk
Reredos, 139, 157–62, 173
Aaron in, 159–61
Creed in, 159–60, 173
Decalogue in, 35, 159–60, 173
Lord's Prayer in, 159–60, 173
Moses in, 159–61
sham candles on, 159, 170
tapestry, 170
Richard's Castle, Herefordshire, *96*, *236*, 268
Ridley, Nicholas, Bp. of London, 22, 26–8, 29, 202
Rode Hill, Somerset, *155*, 272
Rodney Stoke, Somerset, *100*
Rogers, William Gibbs, *56–7*
Romaldkirk, Yorks, *85*, 86
Rome, St. Peter's, *56*, *156*
Sistine Chapel, 96
Gesu, 141
Rood, Great, 18, 30
Loft, 30–1, 51, 98
Screen, 16, 30–1
See also Chancel Screen
Rouen, Cathedral, 169
Round Churches, 23
Royal Arms on nave wall, *104*
on reredos, 153, *161*
on screen, 35
on tympanum, 101–2, 104
Royal Injunctions, 1559, 32–4, 109, 148
Royal Order, 1561, 30–1, 33, *35*, 37, 99, 102
Royal Supremacy, 101–2
Rug Chapel, Merionethshire, *104*, *106*, *115*, 180, 274
Rushes, for Communicants, 113
Rycote Chapel, Oxon, *45*, *96*, 271
Ryton, Co. Durham, *115*, 168

St. Clodock, Herefordshire, *78*, *98*, *102*, *104*, *176*, 269
St. Margaret's, Herefordshire, *106*, *157*, 269
St. Mary's, Whitechapel, Lancaster Co. Virginia, *159*
St. Osyth, Essex, *164*
St. Paul's, Walden, Herts, 41, *156*, 269
Salamanca, Dominican Church, *169*, *192*
Salisbury, Cathedral, 42, *170*, *208*, 215
St. Edmund, 110, *113*
St. Thomas, 36
Samlesbury, Lancs, *99*, 270
Sancroft, William, Abp. of Canterbury, *154*
Sandon, Staffs, 51, 272
Savoy Conferences, 1661, 65, 77–8, 84–5, 164, 207
Scott, Sir George Gilbert, 215
Scott, George Gilbert, junior, 17
Screen, *see under* Altar, Chancel, Parclose, Wrought Iron
Scripture, sentences from, as mural decoration, 36, 104–6, 157
on reredos, 158
Scudamore, John, 1st Viscount, 47–8, *131*, 136
Secker, Thomas, Bp. of Oxford, Abp. of Canterbury, 160

Sedgefield, Co. Durham, *41*, 71, *85*, *94*, *175–6*, 268
Sefton, Lancs, 93–4, 270
Selby Abbey, 174–5
Self-consciousness as Victorian characteristic, 208 *et seq.*
Shelsley Beauchamp, Worcs, *115–16*
Shelsley Walsh, Worcs, *96*
Sherrington, Wilts, *106*, *157*, 273
Shobdon, Herefordshire, *88*, *162*, 189–91, *193*, 269
Shotwick, Cheshire, *92*
Shrewsbury, St. Chad, *62*, *66*, *92*
St. Mary, *132*, *170*
Simson, Abp. of Thessalonica, 83
Singers, seating of, in Singing Loft, 98–9; Singers' pew, 99, 236; Rood Loft, 99–100
Slaidburn, Yorks, *45*, *236*, 274
Smart, Peter, *65*, *66*, 124, 142, 144–5
Southampton, Christ Church, Highfield, *183*
Southwark, Cathedral, *164*, *171*
Sparrow, Antony, Bp. of Exeter, 138
Spennithorne, Yorks, *104*
Spottiswode, John, Abp. of St. Andrews, 39
Stalls, returned, 115, 123
use of in post-Reformation period, 113–15, *175–6*, 213–17
Stamford, Lincs, St. Michael, *155*
Stanford-on-Avon, Northants, *98*
Stapleford, Leics, *66*, *96*, 157–8, 270
Staunton Harold Chapel, Leics, *39*, *48*, 146–7, 270
Steane, Northants, *166*, *180*, 271
Steps, Chancel, 123, 157, 162
Victorian use of, 206, 207
Stokesay, Salop, *96*, *104*, *106*, *157*, *161*, 271
Stone Altars, *26*, *33*, 109, *124*, 134–6, 166–7, *183*, 227
Stratford-on-Avon, Holy Trinity, *128*
Streatham Vale, Holy Redeemer, *234*
Street, George Edmund, *21*, *198*, *220*, 230
Strensham, Worcs, *45*, *98*, 273
Sturm, Leonard Christoph, 181
Sudbury, St. Gregory's, 67
Surpliced Choir, 209 *et seq.*, *233–6*

Table Prayers, *see* Altar Prayers
Tadlow, Cambs, 118
Tarazona, Cathedral, 20
Tattershall, Lincs, 155
Taylor, Jeremy, Bp. of Connor and Dromore, *61*, 197
Teddington, Glos, *104*
Teigh, Rutland, 194–5, *196*, 271
Terrington, St. Clement, Norfolk, *67*
Tetbury, Glos, *66*
Tewkesbury Abbey, 109, *166*
Thiers, Jean Baptiste, *152*
Thorborough, John, Bp. of Bristol, 115
Three-decker, *see* Pulpit, Three-storeyed
Throne, Bishop's, 86, 186, 198–9
papal, 186
Thwing, Yorks, 167
Timogue, Co. Leix, *189*, *190*, 275
Titley, Peter, 124–6
Toledo, San Juan de los Reyes, *195*
Torcello, Cathedral, 82
Torrington, John Byng, 5th Viscount, 72, 98–9, 155, 175
Tottenham, St. John the Baptist, *234*
Tours, Cathedral, 169
Trunch, Norfolk, *68*
Tudela, Cathedral, 20
Twickenham, All Hallows, *171*
Tyberton, Herefordshire, *52*, *159*, 269
Tympanum, 16, 17, 35, 37

Udall, Ephraim, 119–20, 132
Uttoxeter, Staffs, *128*

Vallance, Aymer, 17, 37

Vienne, St. Maurice, *167*, 169
Vierzehnheiligen, Franconia, *153*

Wainscot, 156
Wake, William, Abp. of Canterbury, *71*
Walesby, Lincs, *166*
Walpole, Horace, *see* Orford
Warbleton, Sussex, *96*, 272
Warburton, William, Bp. of Gloucester, 62
Warkworth, Northumberland, *162*
Waterford, Cathedral, 197, *198*
St. Olaf, *76*, *166*, *180*, *198*, 276
Wedding Service, *128*
Welshpool, 100
Welwyn, Herts, 130
Wensley, Yorks, *96*, 274
Wesley, John, *189*
Westbury-on-Trym, Glos., *132*
Westminster, Abbey, 16–17, *43*, *83*, *156*, *157*, 172, *215*, *238*
St. Margaret, 69, 110, 115, 145, *171*
Weston Longville, Norfolk, 98, *99*
Whalley, Lancs, *96*, *98*
Wheatly, Charles, 22, 70, 164, 177
Whitby, Parish Church, *51*, *67*, *80*, *81*, *106*, 274
Whitewashed walls, 64
Wickhamford, Worcs, *39*, *45*, *78*, 273
Wigan, Parish Church, *139*
Wiggenhall, St. Mary-the-Virgin, Norfolk, *114*
Williams, John, Bp. of Lincoln, Abp. of York, *118*, 121, 124–6, 130, 132, 133–5, 136, 142–5, 154, 202
Wimborne, Minster, 71, *116*
Winchcombe, Glos, *132*
Winchester, Cathedral, *42*, 158, *172*, *176*
Windermere, St. Martin, *106*, 273
Windows, stained glass, 35, 105
Windsor, St. George's Chapel, 54, *139*, *172*, *176*
Winterbourne Tomson, Dorset, *71*, *98*
Wistanstow, Salop, *104*, 271
Withenshawe, Lancs, St. Michael and All Angels, *234*
Withersdale, Suffolk, *61*, *78*, 272
Witherslack, Westmorland, *50*, *92*, *93*, *104*, 273
Witnesham, Suffolk, *106*, *157*, 272
Wokingham, Parish Church, *92*
Wolverhampton, St. Peter, *139*, *240*
Wolverton, Hants, *76*, 268
Woodforde, James, diary of, 98
Woodhey Chapel, Cheshire, *44*, *266*
Woolley, Hunts, *160*
Worcester, Cathedral, *121*
St. Michael, 35
St. Swithun, *58*, *67*, *78*, *81*, *156*, 273
Wren, Sir Christopher, *49*, 50, *53–6*, *63*, 88, 90, *180*, *197*, *229*, 247–50
Wren, Matthew, Bp. of Norwich, of Ely, *38*, 54, *90*, *118*, *119*, *122*, *129*, 130, *131*, 162, 177
Wrought iron screens, 39–40, 49, 146
Wyke Champflower, Somerset, *41*, 272

Yatton, Somerset, 35
York, Minster, 16, 19, *170*, 172
Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, *61*, *158*, *165*, 274
St. Michael-le-Belfrey, *165*

Zwiefalten, Wurtemburg, *231*

Date Due

CENTRAL BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
0 0021 0016396 9

726.583
A227 Addleshaw, George W. O.
The architectural setting
of Anglican worship.

37504